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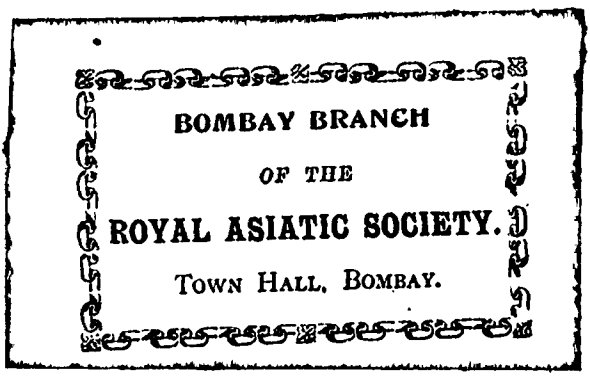

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ENGLAND

IN

1835:

BEING

A SERIES OF LETTERS WRITTEN TO FRIENDS IN GERMANY,

DURING A

RESIDENCE IN LONDON AND EXCURSIONS INTO THE PROVINCES:

BY

FREDERICK VON RAUMER,

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN, AUTHOR OF THE 'HISTORY OF THE HOHENSTAUFEN;' OF THE 'HISTORY OF EUROPE FROM THE END OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY;' OF 'ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE HISTORY OF THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES,' &c. &c.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN,

By H. E. LLOYD.

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ENGLAND IN 1835.

LETTER XLIX.

India—Territorial extent—History of British Conquests—East India Company—China Trade—Trade and Revenue of India—Indian Law—Hindoo Character—Contradictory Accounts—Duration of British Power in India—Duties of Parent States to Colonies.

London, July 1st, 1835.

I HAVE promised to write you something respecting India. This was a rash promise, for a whole life would not suffice to obtain a complete knowledge of it, and, if I speak of everything, I must necessarily be superficial. *Qui embrasse tout n'étreint rein.* But, on the other hand, it is far from my purpose, or my pretension, to exhaust the subject; I shall merely select and compress some portions from the abundance of the materials which I have before me.

The name of India glides over the tongue as easily as those of Germany, Italy, &c.; and yet it is not a single country, but an aggregate of countries and nations, of the most varied nature and character, and almost equal in extent to the whole of Europe. The Ghauts, in the Deccan, are 13,000 feet in height; the Himalaya mountains are 27,000. The length of the course of the

Jumna is 1200 miles; that of the Brahmapootra is 1650; that of the Indus 1700. The territory through which the Ganges flows comprises 20,000 square (German) miles. When the water is at its usual height, 248,000,000 of cubic feet of water flow from the Ganges and Brahmapootra into the sea in one hour; when at the highest, 1,458,000,000.

I mention these facts merely by way of example, to show that, in contemplating India, we must almost wholly lay aside our European standard, must enlarge our views, and give freer scope to our fancy. What an infinite variety of changes, improvements, enjoyments, and of knowledge are connected with the first voyage of Vasco de Gama! Even the highly gifted mind of Camoens could have no presentiment of these consequences; least of all could he foresee that a London trading company would advance from such an insignificant beginning to the sovereignty of the whole country.

It was in the year 1590 that the first English ships undertook a voyage, but without success, to India. Nine years later a sum of 30,000*l.* was raised by subscription; and in the year 1600 Queen Elizabeth granted to the newly-formed company the exclusive right of trading to Asia, Africa, and America for fifteen years. The first fleet consisted of five ships, with four hundred and eighty sailors. James I. gave to the Company, in 1609, a perpetual charter, but its operations were interrupted by the rebellion and the wars with Holland, till Cromwell and Charles II. again con-

firmed its rights; but even at that time the grant met with much opposition from persons who wished for free trade, instead of the monopoly of the Company.

In the year 1680 the first ships sailed for China; and in 1698 the Company obtained, for an annual tribute, the first piece of ground, on which Calcutta was afterwards built. But about the same time, a great dispute arose between the Company and the government, respecting loans and payments to the latter, and it was also injured by the competition of rivals, who formed a second trading company. Its shares fell to thirty-seven per cent. In 1708 the two companies were induced, chiefly through the influence of Lord Godolphin, to consolidate themselves into one. The history of its disputes, wars, conquests, commercial enterprises, revenue, expenditure, and debts, fills a multitude of volumes, and even an abridgment of it cannot be given in a letter. It is, however, worth mentioning, for the explanation of the most recent events, that so long ago as in 1783, an opinion was entertained that the Company, which exercised a sovereign power over vast territories and various nations, required a different constitution. A bill, brought in by Mr. Fox, which paid little regard to the rights hitherto enjoyed by the Company, and would have transferred almost the whole power to the king's ministers, was rejected by the House of Lords; but a different bill, introduced by Mr. Pitt, passed both houses in August, 1784.

The holders of shares, the original proprietors, retained essential and very great privileges:

1000*l.* stock gave the proprietor one vote in the general meeting; 3000*l.*, two votes; 6000*l.*, three votes; 10,000*l.*, and above, four votes. The general assembly chose twenty-four directors, of whom six went out every year. A governor-general and four counsellors governed in India. A chief justice and three counsellors were at the head of the administration of justice; another board directed the commerce, and a board of control took cognizance of all the several branches of the government. This board of control had at all times free access to all accounts; received copies of all important regulations and reports; exercised an influence on the proper determination of the dividends, &c. In the year 1788, twelve hundred and eighty-five persons were entitled to vote in the general meeting. Of these fourteen were entitled to four votes, twenty-three to three, one hundred and nine to two, and eleven hundred and thirty-nine to one vote.

On the 21st of July, 1813, a new law was passed, for the regulation of the East India Company, of which the following is the substance. The possessions to the north of the equator remained under the dominion of the Company. It retained the exclusive trade to China, and also the tea-trade. From the 10th of April, 1831, the Parliament (after paying what the state owes to the Company, and giving three years' previous notice) is empowered entirely to put an end to its exclusive trade. British subjects are authorized to import all kinds of unprohibited goods (tea excepted) from Asia (China excepted) into Great

Britain. Only certain ports, however, in Asia and Europe were entitled to this privilege, and restrictions are imposed respecting the manner of sailing and landing. No merchantman, not belonging to the Company, may be of less than three hundred and fifty tons burthen. No person can settle in India without the permission of the directors. They are to expend at least one lack of rupees annually in the education of the inhabitants, and to employ only persons who have a certain degree of education. Regulations are laid down for the employment of the revenue, the payment of debts, the fixing of dividends, which are not to exceed ten per cent., &c. The revenues of the Company, in its character of sovereign, were to be administered wholly distinct from the revenue arising from its commerce. Regulations relative to new taxes, the application of the revenue of the country, &c., must be laid before the board of control. Every person appointed to an office in India must have resided there a certain number of years.

The nearer the time approached when this new charter of the East India Company was to expire, the louder were the complaints made of its mode of government and of its commercial monopoly; and, in fact, the reasons which, in former centuries, united the weak and unconnected energies of individuals in one associated body had entirely vanished, and commerce, having grown up to vigorous maturity, demanded, and required, emancipation and freedom. In particular, it was proved that the Company, in its commercial capacity, was

annually declining, while the commerce of individuals (in spite of so many still existing restrictions) had increased in an extraordinary manner. Thus, for instance, the exports of the East India Company from 1790 to 1795 were, upon an average, 2,500,000*l.*, and from 1808 to 1812, only 1,748,000*l.* On the other hand, the free trade amounted to 5,981,000*l.* In the year 1814, only 818,000 yards of cotton goods were exported to India, and in 1832, 57,500,000 yards.

For these and similar reasons, Mr. Grant, on the 13th June, 1833, (Hansard, xviii., 698,) introduced a motion for the entire freedom of the trade to Asia. Among other observations he said:—Our main object must be to benefit the inhabitants of India, which, in the end, will prove beneficial to us and to Europe. During the last forty years, the English Government has effected great improvements in India; and the inhabitants have acquired a political existence, which was formerly regarded as impossible. This is an additional reason for severing the government entirely from the commerce of the country. If the English mean to retain their position as a great commercial nation, they must proceed in the course of a liberal legislation, or expect to lose the great sources of their wealth. In conformity with these principles, the restrictions on the trade to India cease; the trade to China, and the tea-trade will be thrown open; the interference of European authorities be limited to the most important affairs; the administration of justice improved; the settlement of Europeans permitted,

and the Indians be no longer excluded from public offices, &c.

You know that these proposals were adopted in every essential particular, and have since been carried into effect. No part of them was more vehemently opposed (chiefly from motives of private interest) than the freedom of trade to China. It was affirmed that the Chinese would deal only with the East India Company; that they would entirely prohibit the exportation of tea, and the English would be compelled to do without it. Of all these assertions and prophecies, none have been fulfilled. English individuals now trade in that country with as much security as the Americans used to do. Tea, which was dearer in Great Britain than in any other part of the world, is daily becoming cheaper, without losing in quality; an immense sphere of commercial enterprise is opened, from which very large commissions are already received; and the Chinese have no more inclination to keep their tea unsold, because England changes its commercial laws, than our sheep-owners have to keep their wool, because a Whig ministry has taken the place of a Tory ministry.

To this short indication of the progress of the legislation, allow me to add a few detached particulars. The export of British manufactures to India amounted on an average, from 1768 to 1792, to 1,921,000*l.*, and it has since very much increased.

	£.
In 1814 the value of goods imported by the East India Company amounted to	4,208,000
By private individuals	4,435,000
In 1831, by the Company	1,107,000
By private individuals	5,229,000
In 1814, value exported by the East India Company	826,000
By private individuals	1,048,000
In 1831, by the Company	146,000
By individuals	3,635,000

By which we perceive the decline of monopoly, and the increase of free trade.

The import duties on many articles from India are improperly higher than on the same articles from the West Indies: for instance,—

	East Indies. £.	s.	d.	West Indies. £.	s.	d.
Sugar, per cwt.	1	12	0	1	4	0
Coffee, per pound	0	0	9	0	0	6
Spirituous liquors, per gal.	0	15	0	0	9	0
Tobacco, per pound	0	3	0	0	2	9
Wood	20 per cent.			5 per cent.		

Equally partial appears the regulation, that English goods may be imported into India free of duty, whereas Indian goods pay in England from 10 to 20 per cent. These differences and anomalies will probably be gradually rendered more conformable to the general principle of free trade and reciprocity; and, on the other hand, the low rate of wages in India, and the use of machinery in England, may by degrees balance

each other without the interference of the government.

East India goods, which, in the year 1621, being imported into Europe by sea, cost 511,000*l.*, would have cost 1,465,000*l.* if they had come by way of Aleppo. The difference of freight, and other expenses, amounted to 953,000*l.* Little is to be expected from steam-navigation to India. By way of the Cape of Good Hope it is too costly, nay impossible;—by way of Syria and the Euphrates there are great dangers; and even through Suez and Cairo it appears, from minute investigation, that there would be very great difficulties to contend with.

The principal revenues of the Indian government consist in the land-tax, and the monopoly of the trade in salt and opium; then follow stamp-duties, the mint, post-office, judicial taxes, &c.

In 1821 the value of opium exported to China was 4,166,000 dollars, and in 1830, 13,468,000*l.* The interest of the debt amounts to nearly 2,000,000*l.*, and an annual revenue of 23,000,000*l.* is seldom fully sufficient to cover all the expenses.

	English square miles.		Inhabitants.
Under the British dominion . .	553,000	containing	83,000,000
With the addition of the allies and tributaries .	1,103,000	„	123,000,000
With the addition of the independent states .	1,280,000	„	134,000,000

The new acquisitions beyond the Ganges con-

tain besides 77,000 square miles, with 301,000 inhabitants. In this total amount of population there are only about 400,000 native Englishmen. According to a statement laid before parliament in August, 1831, (Hansard, vi. 116.) there were—

In Calcutta	3,000	Europeans.
	20,000	British Indian freemen.
	625,009	Natives.
In Madras	200	Whites.
	8,000	Free people of colour.
	463,000	Natives.
In Bombay	300	Whites.
	162,000	Natives.
In Singapore and Prince of Wales' Island	108	Whites.
	108,000	Natives.

Europeans have hitherto been prohibited from buying land and settling in India. It was thought impossible for Europeans to harmonize with the natives, and feared that the former might oppress and wholly overpower the latter. At length, however, a well-founded conviction has arisen, that this restriction is erroneous, and that the supposed dangers may be prevented by judicious laws, and the impartial administration of justice.

The laws are so essentially different, according to the nations and their religions, that they cannot possibly be comprised in one and the same code. The Mahommedans, for instance, are judged according to the Mahommedan,—the Hindoo according to Hindoo law. For many purposes there are three tribunals. The lowest

(the moonsiff court) has only a native judge; in the second, an European is joined with the Mahommedan and Indian judges. The proceedings are carried on in writing, and the examination of the witnesses is publicly carried on in the Persian, Bengalee, or Hindostanee language. The native advocates (vakeels) are appointed and superintended by the courts; their fees increase according to the value of the matter in dispute, but never exceed 1000 rupees. In some parts, for instance in Ceylon, trial by jury has been introduced; but in others the government has hesitated to venture on so important a step before the people shall be better educated. At Madras the natives declared that it was contrary to their manners, customs, and religious persuasion, to participate as jurymen in the administration of justice. Criminal causes are, for the most part, decided according to strict Mahommedan law. Two witnesses are required; but when the proof is not quite complete, extraordinary punishments are decreed. Against Mahommedans no evidence but that of Mahommedans is received. The testimony of women and slaves is wholly rejected. Formerly it was customary to use torture.

Crimes committed in Bengal:—

Against the person,	1822-4	3196
„	1825-7	1960
Against property,	1822-4	2170
„	1825-7	1524

I do not venture (for the reasons already explained elsewhere) at once to infer, from the decrease of these numbers, a corresponding increase

of morality. All parties are agreed that the penal administration of justice in India has need of great improvements.

The armed force has hitherto consisted of king's troops, of the European army of the Company, and of the Indian army of sepoys. The whole number of European officers was about 5500, of whom 750 belonged to the king's troops. The total amount of European soldiers (exclusively of the officers) amounted to about 20,000 king's troops, and 10,000 company's troops. In time of war the force was very much increased, even to 300,000 men, and cost from 9,000,000*l.* to 12,000,000*l.* sterling per annum. Among the king's troops promotion was, for the most part, obtained by purchase or by favour; in the company's troops, on the contrary, by seniority. There were likewise differences with regard to the pay, and other matters, which rendered it difficult to blend them together. Young men were prepared for the military service in the college at Addiscombe, and for the civil service in that at Haileybury.

Compared with the former governments of the Mahommedans and Mahrattas, and the times of the internal feuds of the Hindoos, the latter have unquestionably gained by the better-regulated government of the English. All the defects of the latter appear trifling in comparison with the miseries formerly endured. Civil society (says the 'Edinburgh Review,' liii. 432) resembled a troop of beasts of prey on the one hand, and of timid defenceless animals on the other, which inhabited the same wilderness... Mr. Martin, in his 'Poli-

tical and Financial Condition of the Anglo-Eastern Empire,' says; "We find such a diversity of nations, characters, languages, civilisation, and inclinations, that it is impossible to treat them all in the same manner, and to give them similar institutions." After they had endured, for centuries together, a tyranny which paralysed their energies and obscured their faculties, a mere process of legislation cannot all at once restore them to a sound and vigorous state. So great, for instance, is the mutual hatred and the abject subordination of the castes, that if a man of lower birth were suddenly promoted for his exalted qualities above persons of higher birth, this would excite the greatest discontent and horror in the public mind. It is equally impossible to place a Hindoo above a Mahommedan, or a Mahommedan above a Hindoo. There is no point on which there is a greater variety of opinions than with respect to the moral qualities of the Hindoos, and the consequent mode of treating them. If we begin with the dark side, Mr. Thornton says ('India, its State and Prospects'); Veracity is wholly unknown to them; falsehood mingles with all the relations of life, and is carried so far in the courts of justice, that the judges are quite unable conscientiously to fulfil their duties. False testimony is not the exception, but the rule, and is given and confirmed with such calmness, self-command, and such an appearance of honesty as to disarm all suspicion. Cunning, deceit, and treachery are interwoven in every concern of life. In every transaction deceit is taken for granted,

and the means of security are multiplied, though the closest ties of affinity afford no security. In India nobody is ashamed of vice; there is no public opinion—no dread of it—no patriotism —no benevolence. Where passions manifest themselves, they are only selfish and licentious,— if religious feelings appear, they are founded only on superstition and idolatry.

When I read this and similar descriptions, I was seized with horror at such a degeneracy of human nature, and at the consequences of tyranny, slavery, and superstition. But before I looked for further testimonies and proofs, I recovered my conviction, not only that, by the grace of God, a redemption from evil is everywhere possible, but that man, so long as he retains, as the image of God, a human countenance, still has in himself a never-dying root, an indestructible element of virtue, of truth, of innocence and regeneration. If practically applied, the exaggerated doctrine of election, (or rather of unconditional rejection,) and of predestination, to a merely animal existence, would lead to the most dreadful consequences; would exclude all philanthropy, education, and moderation, and would apparently justify the most shameful tyranny. But it is not so; the Hindoo has an original and indelible consciousness, that truth is above falsehood, and benevolence above malignity. But the concealed, stifled spark now requires extrinsic aid to rise in newly acquired vitality into a flame: it needs education—patient, temperate education. Even Mr. Thornton himself casts a ray of light upon.

his dark picture, when he says that there is greater improvement in British India, than in those states into which European civilisation has not penetrated.

There are other and different descriptions of India, by men who are fully as well informed, and can say *anch' io sono pittore*. The excellent Bishop Heber says, the national character of the Hindoos is decidedly good, mild, and affectionate. They are temperate, active, kind to their relations; in general, honest towards their masters, easily gained by kindness and confidence, and, after they have taken the military oath, admirable for their obedience, courage, and fidelity in life and death. With respect to their natural character (says Heber, in another place) I am inclined to think very favourably of it. Unfortunately they have many vices, which originate in slavery, an ill-regulated state of civil society, and an erroneous and immoral religious system; but they are men of high and gallant spirit, obliging, intelligent, and extremely desirous of knowledge and improvement.

Munro, in his History of British India, speaks in a similar manner. The Hindoo character has a mixture of good and bad qualities. Many, for instance, are selfish, others (especially among the agricultural classes) are generous and kind to their neighbours and inferiors. I do not know any other example of a great nation, under similar circumstances, having preserved, under a succession of tyrannical masters, so many good qualities and virtues as are still to be found in the inhabitants of this country.

What a boundless and noble task of human education is allotted to the British in India! Their actions will be tried and their reward determined hereafter, not by the quantity of merchandize which they have imported and exported, but by what they have done for the millions of men whom Providence has, in a wonderful manner, subjected to their dominion. All genuine education rejects a state of stagnation, but does not advance by fits and starts. It moves, and makes others move, indefatigably and regularly. If I overrate my pupils, or if I despise them, I, in both cases, miss the object. The school, properly speaking, affords but a small part of human education. Less good will be done in India by reading and writing, than by putting a check upon the zemindars, who have transformed themselves from receivers of the taxes into a kind of hereditary lords; who arbitrarily tax or expel their vassals, and take not the least interest in their good or ill fortune. If these petty tyrants were restrained, the great mass of the people might obtain a more secure existence, and thereby a consciousness of moral independence.

The greatest and most powerful aid can and will come from the Christian religion. But in order to this, it must not be presented to the minds of the natives by narrow-minded zealots, who place its essence in invented subtleties and secondary points; it must not be offered as a delicacy, newly prepared and seasoned with sectarian spice; minds equally comprehensive and profound must bear before them the light of

eternal, world-redeeming love, and must find means to melt the ten-fold brass in which the ancient Indian doctrine has bound the heads and hearts of the inhabitants. If Bishop Middleton (as related in Hansard, xx. 33) held it to be his duty to prohibit the Dissenters from building a church steeple in India, (which is covered with minarets of the Hindoos and the Mahommedans), because this was contrary to English Christianity—what kind of a Christian lion must the Hindoos infer from this claw? Doubtless one that placed the supremacy of a church higher than Christian charity. The Brahmins, who are equally ambitious of power, might very reasonably believe him to be like themselves, and hence consider conversion to Christianity as superfluous.

But how long will this dominion of Britons over an immense Indian Empire be maintained? To this unavoidable and most important question, the usual answer is, it will continue, in proportion as they act with prudence and moderation. Tyranny and selfishness are undoubtedly the shortest mode of putting an end to all dominion; but the opposite line of conduct does not always afford a certain pledge of its long duration. The more carefully and liberally I educate my children, the sooner do they become independent, and able to direct themselves; and the more a mother-country treats its colonies in a similar manner, the sooner do they attain to an existence of their own, and dissolve the ties by which they had hitherto been bound. It might,

therefore, be affirmed that the noblest task of Britons is, not to establish and retain their sovereignty in India for all ages, but to render it unnecessary. The sooner, by their indefatigable aid, all these Asiatic nations shall rise from their degraded state of existence to a corporeal and intellectual regeneration, the more glorious will it be for England; the more honourable to the moral and political training which she has given them.

Glorious, it will be objected, such a change may be, but it undoubtedly brings with it an immense and irreparable loss, perhaps ruin, to England. I cannot share in this apprehension; unless prudence should be wanting, when the time shall come, to recognize the real state of things, and moderation to acknowledge and profit by it. If (to continue my former comparison) a grown-up son leaves his father's house, and forms a household of his own, shall we say that this is a sheer misfortune for the father? True it is, certain relations, with their joys and their sorrows, then vanish, and no artificial means can restore the days of early youth! But the friendly, salutary intercourse may continue; and instead of the father speaking to the child, the man converses with the man. It is not in itself necessary that every separation of the mother-country from its colonies should be accompanied with war; there may, and, reasonably, there ought to be, the dowry and settlement of a child, reared to maturity by the wise and watchful care of its parent. England and Spain have paid

dearly for overlooking this truth in America. May the former not fall into the same error in Asia; but be prepared and ready to meet what must inevitably happen!

In order to refute me, some person might continue my comparison, and say, when the children commence an independent existence, the father is old, and drawing towards his end. But I have already endeavoured to prove in another letter, from preceding examples and analogies, that for a people, as such, no necessary or absolute term of existence can be assigned; that renovating means are always at hand, if it will only employ them at the right time, and in due measure, and remain clear from the sins and the errors which have hitherto caused the decay of nations.

LETTER L.

Dearness and mode of living in England—Prices—Stock in hand—Savings' Banks—Population—Diseases and Deaths—Emigration—Ultras of all Descriptions.

London, June 2nd, 1835.

All the travellers whom I meet with are ready to despair, and to set sail again, on account of the exorbitant dearness of things; and the more distinguished the travellers, the louder are their complaints. This is very natural, because these great personages look upon it as their duty and their privilege to live in the same style as English people of their own rank. But there is such an enormous difference between the revenues of a German and an English baron or count, that the former (who, even at home, are often in straitened circumstances) in a competition of one week, have completely exhausted their means, and are forced to demand their passports. Others, who might be disposed to economise, are destitute of the necessary local information, or they are ashamed to limit their expenses according to their income. Nevertheless, a person may live in London as cheaply as he pleases, —that is to say, if he does not attempt to vie with the higher circles of society.

The prices of many articles have fallen considerably instead of rising. Thus all agricultural produce is lower. The following, for instance, is

a comparative table of expenses in Greenwich Hospital:—

	1815.		1833.	
	s.	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*
For 1 cwt. meat .	68	0	46	6
Sack of flour .	44	9	44	1¾
A pound of butter	1	2	0	8½
A pound of cheese	0	8	0	4½
A bushel of salt	19	9	1	6
Quarter of malt	69	0	54	0
12 lbs. of candles	11	7	5	2½
A barrel of beer	15	4	12	2
1 cwt. hops .	£9	13 0	£6	15 0

The great reduction in the price of salt, hops, malt and candles is chiefly owing to the remission of taxes.

This decline of prices has been alleged as the cause and the proof of the ruin of agriculture, as I have mentioned in a former letter; and it must be allowed that an individual farmer who, in expectation of a continuance of high prices, had inconsiderately taken a long lease of his farm at a high rent, may be obliged to sacrifice part of his capital. But, in general, we may conclude from very high, rather than from moderate prices, that the quantity of produce diminishes, and that agriculture declines. Now, however, the prices of almost all other articles have fallen; such as sugar, coffee, iron, coals, manufactured goods, wages, &c., so that everything preserves its equilibrium, and the general increase of population and of consumption sufficiently refutes the infer-

ence of general distress. Sheffield, for instance, formerly complained of the growth of pauperism, and yet the number of its inhabitants in 1801 amounted only to 45,000, while in 1831 it contained 91,000; in the year 1819, 3286*l.* had been deposited in its savings' banks; in 1831, 88,899*l.* The savings' banks in England and Ireland have a capital of 95,000,000 thalers (14,000,000*l.*,) for the most part certainly the property of the poorer classes; and the general increase of livery servants, carriages, horses, &c., proves that the upper classes are in affluence. Thus, in the warehouses of London alone, there are 23,000,000 lbs. of tobacco, 23,645,000 lbs. of coffee, 50,000,000 lbs. of tea, 800,000 cwt. of sugar, &c.: quite enough to stop the mouths of all those continental prophets of evil who are perpetually exclaiming, "*L'Angleterre est un pays ruiné, elle est aux abois.*" Nonsense. But I have already said much in refutation of it, and shall have something more to say when I speak of the finances and the national debt.

Yesterday I suffered myself to be persuaded to go to the Haymarket to see 'The Haunted Tower.' It is best to say nothing of these pretended works of art. As the Italians, in their over-refinement, go far beyond the limits of true art, so this screaming of uncultivated voices, and these awkward attempts at bravura, are below all art. I felt so uncomfortable and impatient that I thanked heaven when it was all over. The public was of a different opinion, and expressed

the warmest approbation; nay, an old and very fat lady who was seated next to me stamped with her short legs as loud and heartily as the most expert drummer. You are aware that stamping with the feet is here, as in Paris, a token of applause.

I have received a very polite invitation to be present at the installation of the new chancellor of Cambridge. By accepting it, however, I should not only lose three days, which I cannot spare from my researches, but likewise I consider it improper to force myself into a place whence, for want of room, so many Englishmen must be excluded.

London, 3d July.

Permit me to send you again to-day some statistical tables, which give rise to interesting reflections. The population amounted to

	England.	Gt. Britain.	Ireland.	In round numbers
1801	8,381,000	10,942,000	5,395,000	16,330,000
1811	9,538,000	12,609,000	5,937,000	18,540,000
1821	11,261,000	14,391,000	6,801,000	21,190,000
1831	14,091,000	16,537,000	7,734,000	24,270,000

This rapid increase of the population proves that the notion that adequate means cannot be obtained for its maintenance is only a partial and subordinate truth. Moreover, the 24,000,000 are by no means worse off than formerly the 16,000,000. The taxes, for instance, have been more reduced, since the peace, than in any other European state.

The trading and manufacturing population

amounts to 41 to 47, the agricultural (according to the different counties) 25 to 35 in a hundred. Throughout the whole of England there are from 300,000 to 500,000 more women than men; in Petersburg, on the contrary, there are 239,000 men, and only 140,000 women. In every part of Great Britain, too, the mortality has decreased: on an average of 18 years there were 39 persons above a hundred years old. There are more old women than men. In England, every 20th child is illegitimate; in Wales, every 13th; in the county of Radnor, every 7th. Though the number of illegitimate children is very considerable in the manufacturing county of Lancashire, yet, of 13 children, 12 were born in marriage. In Middlesex, where the reverse might be supposed to be the case, only every 38th child is illegitimate. These singular and, to me, inexplicable facts suggest many reflections. Let it suffice to remark, that these results lead us to form very favourable conclusions respecting the moral and domestic relations in England.

In London there died, in 1833, of

Consumption (the largest proportion)	4,355
Childbirth	275
Convulsions	2,140
Still-born	934
Venereal disorders	6 (?)
Drowned	108
Suicide	55 &c.
Total	26,577
Baptised	27,090

The number of emigrants in 1833 were

To British America	28,808
To the United States	29,225
Cape of Good Hope	517
Australia	4,134
Total	62,684

It is certainly quite as mistaken a notion to prohibit emigration as to prohibit the exportation of merchandise or of money. On the contrary, it is rather a defect if a country has no means, whether near or remote, of getting rid of its surplus population. By emigration, or colonization, the world has become peopled and civilized, and there is nowhere a paradise from which sin alone compels men to retire. If there were such a paradise, it would, at the most, be in Japan, which, nevertheless, is not the less free from sin because it shuts itself out from the rest of the world. The love of home, and the inclination to visit foreign parts, preserve their natural equilibrium when they are not interfered with by partial restrictions. It is commendable in governments to give information of the difficulties and dangers of emigration, when authentic information cannot be easily obtained; but it cannot be expected that warnings will deter those who, for sufficient reasons, are resolved or obliged to leave their country.

Above all things it would be proper to facilitate the emigration of political malcontents,—to send out some absolutists to the north-east, some ultra-liberals to the south-west, on voyages of dis-

covery. Both parties only do mischief at home; and, on the other hand, the temporary travelling of the political journeymen mechanics tends to educate them. They would learn that one kind of bark is not for all trees, and that we should still less strip the bark from the trees to transfer it to a green bough. This operation does not produce flourishing German trees, under whose shade the cheerful people forget, in social enjoyment, the labours of the day; but a bare tree of liberty, the exact image of a merely negative, abstract freedom.

Many of our legitimatists, as they are called, have advanced no farther in their political botany than to a *herbarium vivum*, but which is only a collection of dry plants, and, for the most part, becomes a prey to the worms in a few years. They rest, as I have said before, merely on the dead letter of what is right, and deny all capability and all need of improvement. Provided with the easily-impressed stamp of legitimacy, they present themselves to kings and princes, boast themselves as the only friends of their country, call the shrug of their shoulders feeling, their grievances sacrifices, repeat, parrot-like, the same hollow, pretended world-redeeming phrases, distribute their copper counters (borrowed of Haller and Company) for genuine sovereigns, and kindly point out every one as infected with the plague who will not fetch the elixir of life from their laboratory. And these legitimatists, if placed in the *palais de la verité*, will reject, as very illegitimate, all the laws which the wisdom and

justice of the king have given during the last thirty years for the good of his people, and by the power and suitableness of which all political epidemics have hitherto been averted. Those preachers of legality are but too often the enemies of legality, and see in their prejudices and passions the microcosm, after which the infinite world should be cut out and fashioned.

But, some may object, are their adversaries any better? who then are their adversaries? the ultra-liberals! Do you call those their adversaries? on the contrary, these two parties are in close alliance, and mutually do each other's work. The one, to be sure, lives at the North and the other at the South Pole; but if we run a stick from one end to the other, we shall have them all spitted together like larks; they lie, and live, and act, in one and the same direction. By the narrowmindedness of those retrograde Legitimatists, kings and princes, who yield to their guidance, make themselves hated, and by the interference of those centrifugal ultras, the nations who confide in them are led to anarchy and decay. It is the duty of every one who loves his king, his fellow-citizens, and his country, uncompromisingly to attack and combat both parties wherever he meets with them. Through ultras of the first class, kings have lost their noblest possession—confidence in their people. Through the ultras of the latter kind, the people have lost the vital principle of all societies—love for their governments. From just abhorrence of the follies of the false friends of freedom, kings

no longer venture to advance a step; and from just abhorrence of the hypocritical friends of pretended legitimacy, who would make everything retrograde, the people rush forward like a whirlwind, which in its unbridled fury sweeps away their superiors, their governors, and then themselves. At last, when kings and demagogues, landed property and personal property, churches and schools, science and art, are plunged in the same bottomless abyss, then some of the heads of those delusive schools, who happen to survive, creep from under the rubbish, place themselves on the fragments of overthrown columns in the desolate waste, and outvie each other in reciprocal reproaches, in order to lay upon one party alone the blame in which they both have an equal share.

LETTER LI.

English Ladies—Prussia—Patriotism—German Malcontents—Police—Religious Intolerance—Catholics—Dissenters.

London, June 5, 1835.

I AM rather behindhand in my daily reports to you, partly because other things engage my attention, and partly also what I had to communicate would consist almost entirely of unconnected circumstances. I have been forced to decline several invitations, amongst others the fête of the Horticultural Society at Chiswick, as neither duty nor inclination will suffer me to lose a single day in the State-Paper Office. Its treasures are so inexhaustible and are so conveniently at hand, that I am resolved to carry off as much as my very limited stay will permit. In the morning, therefore, till eleven, my mind is fixed upon the present, from eleven to three upon the past; then comes the reading of the journals and newspapers at the Athenæum, visiting, dinner, At Homes, and sleep, but seldom sufficient.

I have often told you why I could not describe every party in detail, and I find my motives confirmed. The general character of society is not so spirited, striking, and amusing as in France and Germany. The French, for example, have

more talents for society, inasmuch as the host, or some person or persons, place themselves like leaders at the head of the society, and put everything in motion. Here, on the contrary, the conversation never extends beyond your next neighbour, and it would excite attention to make a speech across the table. If I have already told you this before, you may take the repetition as a confirmation of the remark. . . . At the Marquis of Lansdowne's there was again an assemblage of beautiful women; and he, who is so puritanical as to reckon delight in beauty a sin, might rejoice his eyes with the diamonds, pearls, and precious stones, which adorned neck, arm, hand, and head, in brilliant variety. They might not, indeed, suffice to pay the English national debt, but could relieve the distresses of a whole county of impoverished landholders.

M. A—— told me of the arrival of a Prussian Liberal, who is vehement in his abuse of Prussia. Then, replied I, he is most surely wrong; without love for his country a man is no better than a brute, and the *ubi bene ibi patria* is for the most part the motto of selfish, heartless people, who are more attracted by cooks and wine-merchants than by friends, relations, and fellow-citizens. The mystery of the irresistible, inexhaustible attachment to the apparently inanimate soil, to a tree, a prospect, a meadow, a fountain; this mystery, so often ridiculed and despised, nay, viewed with the lamp of false enlightenment, pronounced to be absurd, proves the pulse of universal life which unites mind and

matter; it contains a transcendental idealism which puts to shame all false philosophy, and especially that which would make spirit originate in the enjoyments of sense, or place upon the throne the utilitarian doctrine in her mantle of shreds and patches. The Laplander, the Hottentot (so say all collectors of curiosities) always desires to return home; what folly, what brutish stupidity! I know the value of mental development; but it is not produced by violently removing an individual in an humble situation from his natural soil, and carrying him through the air to unknown and incomprehensible regions. What neither can nor ought to succeed with German children in Geneva and Lausanne, will succeed still less with these Hottentots and Greenlanders. He who can say, "Here will I live, here I am happy, because my grandsire planted the tree, and my father rested under its shade,"—he surely has not less feeling than the traveller who hastens from London to Naples, and hires apartments in St. Lucia because he has been told it is the most beautiful prospect in the world.

"The impressions on the senses," say certain philosophers, "alone form the mind; there is nothing in the mind but what has been conveyed to it through the senses." But the beast has acuter senses than man; whence comes it, then, that his intellect is not awakened by the impressions of the senses? Why, then, does the eagle pay no attention when I place before him Raphael's Madonna? Why does the dog at the most begin to bark

when he hears music? Has he, then, a perception of what is within, and of what is without him?

The mind, therefore, governs the world (*mens agitat molem*); and mind, in the highest sense, creates its own native land. He who is destitute of this power, who runs about here and there, to pick up, and enter in his journal the elements of a fatherland from all the regions of the world —and then patches together from this *olla podrida* the fanciful mosaic of a home,—all his wisdom evaporates, all his possessions drop from his hand, before the simple energy of mind which impels the peasant to leave his plough and seize the sword, when haughty and over-refined enemies would fairly demonstrate to him the worthlessness of the barren tract which he inhabits, while they are yet ambitious to add this desert spot to their splendid possessions.

It is by no means my intention to require that what is defective in our own country should be justified in spite of obvious truth, or that what is viewed with partiality should be overrated. On the contrary, I have the most sensitive feeling for the faults and errors of my country: not a feeling of hatred and contempt, but one originating in the strictest attachment. Who sees the faults of children more clearly, who blames them more severely, than parents? But is their heart therefore averted from them, or colder than that of the indifferent spectator? By no means. Thus should it be with our native land.

It is noble, it is praiseworthy, that expatriated Spaniards, Poles, and French, however severe

their judgment on their opponents, should still love their country above all things; that the flame of their enthusiasm should be manifested in their looks, words, and movements, when the name of Spain, Poland, and France is but mentioned. Germany alone has incurred the disgrace of seeing Germans, who, for the most part, were driven from their native country only by their own folly, wander among other nations, and consider it as an honour heartlessly and unfeelingly to accuse their native land. It is not affection that calls forth their complaints and their eloquence, but hatred, vanity, and pride. Instead of leading with a careful hand, instead of contributing by personal sacrifice (and, first of all, that of their own false wisdom) to the cure of their diseased country, they rejoice at the appearance of every new evil, and, like the vulture of Prometheus, tear the entrails of the land that gave them birth.

But this worst class of all ultra-liberals is very rarely of German origin; they belong, for the most part, to a nation which was once constrained to superficial cosmopolitism, and which often weighs all the relations of family, the magistracy, subjects, &c., in the balance of cold reason.

I return to the point from which I set out. If a stranger (a Frenchman or an Englishman) dogmatically calls Prussia a despotic state, because he knows only his own standard, or applies his own measure, such a prejudice is to be gradually removed or refuted. A Prussian, on the other hand, who speaks in this manner, knows nothing of his own country, or does not care to know it.

Both are equally blameable. I will not, however, be unreasonable. We endure great mental suffering, or a severe illness, more easily than a series of useless vexations,—than gnats and flies in our rooms and beds. The Prussian police has certainly sometimes been too busy with such vexations and fly-catching, and has driven even patient people to impatience. No revolutions arise from trifles, neither can they be kept off by trifles. The most comprehensive, the most rigid police was ineffectual (opposed to great causes) in Russia and France. He who takes his lantern to look day and night after follies, will find them in plenty. By this process of the police, however, they lengthen like the tapeworm, but the head will never be laid hold of in such a manner. The folly of a day, the error of youth, ought to be considered as evaporated, as vanished. Instead of that, it is recorded in voluminous documents as *character indelibilis*, and the long list of sins is sent to presidents and ambassadors, that they may keep a sharp look-out after the guilty. But these very censurers did just the same in their younger days; they were members of orders, or *Landsmannschaften*, and relate, with much glee, stories of their pranks when they were students; and they are right in doing so; the froth of this university champagne has not affected either head or heart; and the police keepers of Zion, who never had a notion of it, were from their youth *Philister*, without head or heart.

In the year 1813, by the emancipation of the peasants, the independence of the citizens, and

by exciting youth, the waves of the ocean were raised, which swept away the greatest despotism of modern times. Can we wonder, then, that after such a storm, all minds did not at once subside into a perfect calm, but, as in Glück's 'Iphigenia,' some tones still echoed, some lightnings still flashed? Truly, those persons who now go about with their police watering-pot, to extinguish the last spark, would never, in those years of terror, have fetched, like Prometheus, the sacred fire from heaven, to purify the world from its dross and gain the pure silver of a new era.

Such modes of cure and renovation are happily not necessary every day. But if our youth does not sufficiently estimate the value of what has been gained, and of a tranquil orderly state of things, the error is pardonable, and a happy proof that, notwithstanding all the endeavours of the over-anxious, the generous fire is not extinguished, but in reserve for times of new danger. Every useful fire, it is true, may spread and become a dangerous conflagration, but the firemen do not on that account stand from year's end to year's end, with their engines and water-buckets, in the market-place; they do not blow their horn so incessantly that nobody pays attention to them. In Venice, Madrid, and perhaps in Paris, a secret police may have been possible and even necessary, but it is utterly at variance with the German character. By secret police, I do not mean merely the endeavour to discover secrets by means of worthless vagabonds, spies, opening letters, and so forth, but likewise the folly of public authorities instituting formal

inquiries into things, which, if they were let alone, would quickly die away and be forgotten. Absolutists and ultra-liberals do each other's work in this also, and are the cause of all the evil, and are colleagues without knowing or wishing it.

England has no police tyrants like France, and no petty spies like Germany, but it abounds the more in theological zealots. It cannot be denied that those of the Roman Catholic persuasion in Ireland have been for the most part produced by English tyranny. But to affirm, as many writers and orators now do, that the Roman Catholic Church has, at all times, taught and made converts in pure love and kindness, is trampling all historical truth under foot. Admitting this, Philip II. and the Duke of Alva would be the true defenders of a good cause, and martyrdom would consist, not in dying for one's own faith, but in burning those who are of a different opinion.

Has it not been said and printed in Germany that he who could and would not do the latter for his conviction, is very far from having attained true conviction? In the same manner, recent writings of the Sectarians here say,—"If superstition and idolatry, if the blackest manifestation of anti-Christ that the earth has ever seen, if these can save the soul of the sinner, this means of salvation is to be found in the lies offered by the Romish Church, the mother of abominations. The long suffering of God (especially his toleration of the Catholics) is miraculous, because it shows how he limits and keeps in check his own attributes. It is omnipotence exercised over the Omnipotent.

Divine anger is an effort for the Almighty himself. How important must that be which it costs even God pain to accomplish! It is time, O God, for thee to act. They have forsaken thy covenant, thrown down thine altars, and put thy prophets to the sword. The Judge of men must arise and avenge his offended dignity. But I know on whom the mark of deliverance will be impressed, when the men with the weapons of death are commanded to pass through the land. Popery gives full scope to every vicious propensity, and yet holds out the promise of eternal life. It shows how men can lead the lives of devils, and yet apparently die angels. Ye, however, who bend the bow—shoot them down—spare no arrows. We will take all our bows from the armoury of heaven, and, should they wound to heal, or call forth plagues, we will still shoot against Babylon," &c.

With the same senseless, acrimonious, unchristian zeal, with which the Roman Catholic Church is attacked, libellers, on their part, attack the English Established Church. They do not aim at improving what is defective, but at overthrowing all that exists. Unstable atomism is to give to the church and the state new solidity and unity. What madness! Neither church nor state is dependent in origin or progress on the mere whim of the passing hour. The English advocates of the voluntary system in the church, and the French panegyrists of the *volonté générale*, cultivate the same barren, unprofitable soil. Scarcely a blade of grass springs up, with all their care;

then comes the heat of the day, and what has been extolled and admired withers so rapidly—vanishes so quickly from the eye and the memory, that the next day produces the same transient pleasure, or the same trouble.

The religious sectarians and political levellers have an especial hatred of the science of theology. The grace of God has implanted in every man a sense of justice, of truth, of religion, of health. But when the science of justice vanishes, pettifoggers triumph; when philosophy disappears, ignorance steps in; when theology retires, incredulity and superstition take its place; and when the science of physic for the body, and of true policy for the state are lost, quacks and mountebanks flourish. Masters and scholars, pastors and congregations, cultivated knowledge and spontaneous feeling, are not opposed, but belong to, each other. He who would make shift with one half, or raise the half to the dignity of the whole, lives in a dangerous error, which will soon bring its own punishment.

The treatment of the Roman Catholics in England is, in fact, less difficult than that of the Dissenters. As soon as it shall be thought fit to place the former on an equality with the English Church, or to treat them in the same manner as in Prussia, all difficulties will vanish. The Dissenters, on the other hand, have no firm connected system. They disperse, arrive, or vanish, often with unexpected rapidity. It is easy to find what, according to the Roman Catholic or the Protestant doctrine, is a church, a clergyman, a

marriage, &c., and what importance is to be attached to all these things. But is every room, where a few dissentients assemble, to pass for a church? What persons can give validity to a marriage? — what rights and duties are to be attributed to them? Is every one at liberty to refuse contributing to the general burthens of the church? or is he absolutely bound to contribute as to the burthens of the state? These, and similar questions, are, indeed, hard to be answered, and cannot be decided without an accurate comparison of all the circumstances. In Germany, where only two great parties exist together, all is more simple, and in greater masses, than here, where every internal difference immediately appears externally, and makes itself of consequence.

LETTER LII.

Party Views—Democracy—Waterloo Place—English and French Cookery—English Ladies.

London, Friday, July 10, 1835.

I MIGHT tell you a number of trifling occurrences of my daily life, if I had time to note every thought, and every transient feeling. But the archives of the past, and the present, the dead and the living, claim every moment, so that I am as it were lost to myself. Instead, therefore, of stating circumstantially how I fared within these last few days at Mr. N——'s, Lord L——'s, and Count M——'s, take this short mention of their names as a proof that I continue to have cause to be satisfied. In answer to the melancholy expressions (uttered in dark, gloomy days), I can and must joyfully attest that my visit to England affords me, in an equally high degree, both advantage and pleasure. My harvest of past ages is as ample as my limited time and powers will allow; the permission to consult the public archives is as honourable as desirable, and the intercourse with men of the most different characters is equally agreeable and instructive. Add to this, the sight of the first city of Europe, the constant reference to the manifold activity, to an improving legislation, and to all those subjects which furnish the contents of my many letters.

The hope of obtaining an unprejudiced view of things by reading and writing, hearing and

seeing, is indeed often disturbed from a quarter which ought already to have fallen into oblivion. Such cannonading of ultra-Toryism and Radicalism awaken one from idle dreams or self-complacent research. The first are for the most part only shot to cover the retreat, the last to deceive by feigned attacks. I add a few words on this subject. An ultra-conservative declared against the abolition of slavery! I find the apprehension which was entertained of the transition from a state of slavery to a state of freedom very natural; the doubts relative to the mode of abolition, and the amount of the indemnity not ill founded; but it is inconceivable to me how any one can defend the inhuman principle in itself. The splendour of the ancient world, with its wars for freedom or dominion, with its arts and science, often prevented us from observing the dark side of that fundamental evil; or it was considered as an indispensable means to produce those grand events. But in the West Indies, where the only question is, the production of more or less sugar or coffee!

Another Tory maintained that the greatest fault which his party had committed was the passing of the Poor Bill in the Upper House. This view of the case appears to me to be totally false. In the first place (in the manner in which it was developed) it sets the main question, namely, the value of the law itself, entirely aside, and makes its adoption or rejection to depend on totally different party reasons. The advantages of the new system are confirmed every day. Those

who formerly paid, now save large sums; while those who formerly received, do not lose, and what is far better they are compelled to leave a state of impudent idleness for useful labour, and are consequently improved both in body and mind. In the extensive parish of Marylebone, as I was told by L——, at Lord L——'s, eight hundred, for the most part healthy and able-bodied, men extorted immense weekly sums for their subsistence; but since the new law holds out the prospect of harder labour and more sparing diet, the number has been reduced to fifty. Another housekeeper in London, Baron P——, assures me that his poor-rates are already reduced one-half.

What, then, would the Tories have gained by rejecting the bill? They would have caused the continued expenditure of a very large sum, perhaps have gained the goodwill of the lowest of the mob, (what an ally!) but certainly have forfeited the affection of the most respectable part of the population.

In the 'Standard,' the Englishmen who join the army of the Queen of Spain are called banditti, and the treatment with which they are threatened by Don Carlos is approved. What a perverse confusion of ideas! They go with the approbation of the Spanish government, and of their own, to combat for a cause which they consider as just and good. The governments may be mistaken—they may deceive themselves. Others, induced by opposite motives, may join Don Carlos; but how can either the one or the other be

placed in the same class with banditti? or how can we assume (like Lord M——) that they can be animated by no more noble motive than love of money? The measure, however, or permission to enlist men, is highly approved of; soldiers and officers are eager to join, and in several regiments there are many who content themselves with half-pay in order to go to Spain.

In the last number of the 'Quarterly Review' there is an article in which the old municipal laws are highly extolled. Palgrave's opposition is praised to the skies, and all changes are reprobated as revolutionary and mischievous. *Qui prouve trop ne prouve rien.* I have already told you that Palgrave by no means desires entirely to abide by the old law; and so far as Sir Robert Peel agreed to the new principle, the Review, which commends him, might surely have gone with him, without forfeiting its conservative character. But people often forget that he who stands still while the whole world is moving, appears, in comparison with it, to go backwards, and in fact does so.

We hear so many lamentations that countries and people are going to ruin, and must do so, through the effects of daily-spreading democracy; yet its superficial panegyrists (if they were capable of receiving instruction) might be fully refuted from the history of the last fifty years. Nay, the bitterest lesson might perhaps be, that democracy by no means predominates in countries where it is most highly extolled. How then is negro slavery in North America, or the power of

dismissing civil officers in France, compatible with liberal institutions? Are not the French elective system—the custom of admitting substitutes in the army—the prohibitory system of commerce for the advantage of a few individuals, oligarchical in the worst sense of the term? England may, perhaps, be considered as the most democratic country, inasmuch as the people for the most part govern themselves, or, to speak more correctly, because fewer threads for the purpose of guiding run to one central point. And yet, on the other hand, how is the whole country penetrated, in innumerable respects, by aristocracy, and founded on it!

London, July 12, 1835.

If I had not been interrupted the day before yesterday, I should probably have entered into a long discussion upon democracy. To-day, I have no mind to renew the subject, and will only tell you, that I yesterday had a quiet and comfortable day; that is, from eight to half-past ten o'clock I worked at home, from eleven till four in the State-Paper Office and the Athenæum. When, on my return home, I attempted to settle down to my desk, I could not get on as I wished, which at first made me angry, but afterwards I found satisfactory reasons to excuse myself. I therefore drove to Hyde Park, strolled through the Green Park and St. James's Park, was as much pleased as the boys who were flying their kites, and enjoyed the fineness of the day, which was remarkably bright for London, in these

parks, which are so beautifully rural, though so closely connected with the city. The preceding day I had ascended to the top of the Duke of York's column to take a view of the city, or rather of part of it, for fog and smoke veil the larger half, and only the dome of St. Paul's rises above the grey mist. How far different and more vast would the immense capital appear in the transparency of a Neapolitan sky!

You ask in what the comfort of the day consisted? Why, in the union of work and recreation—of science and nature. Besides, I have not yet come to the end of my story. At six o'clock I went to a newly-discovered eating-house, No. 3, Leicester Square. I had observed on the preceding day, upon the bill of fare in the window, "*rice soup*." This I had never tasted in London, and you will therefore think it very natural that I indulged my *penchant* for this dish, and, besides, bespoke maccaroni soup for the following day. It was excellent, without pepper; and, instead of the English, I found here the French-German cookery, and this exactly suited my taste. English cookery is by no means agreeable, as everybody is obliged to bite and chew twice as much as in France, Italy, and Germany, which is trying enough to young teeth, but utter destruction to older masticators.

English cookery is that of nature, as described by Homer. Good quality of provisions is the basis and indispensable condition of good eating: therefore, without good fish, good meat, good vegetables, labour and art are thrown away; and

because the English have all these, they fancy that their object is attained. In this, however, they appear to be mistaken, for they want the second step in the progress of the art, or the scientific and tasteful combination of nature and art. Thus, we see every day, and in every company, one and the same sauce for fish. Every vegetable appears *in puris naturalibus*—every soup seeks to hide its weakness by a covering of pepper and spice. With the same materials the French cook can do a great deal more. As the Egyptian divinities, in simple dignified repose, appear with their arms and legs closely pinioned in the same position, and with the same expression in all ages; so do in England, in dull and unvarying monotony, roast beef, roast mutton, roast veal. As every god and goddess assumes in the hands of Phidias and Praxiteles a different posture and features, a milder or more serious expression; so do the sheep, the oxen, and the calves in the hands of a French cook; and the monotonous genus of plants in the system of Linnæus or Jussieu is broken, by the horticultural skill of these artists, into the most pleasing varieties. Art, indeed, goes beyond its limits, if it loses sight of its destination, if the roast is treated à la Bernini, the vegetables à la Hollandaise. In this case we feel that it has degenerated, and long for the simplicity of nature. The Germans in this, as in many other things, aim at a medium between the two extremes—at improving rude nature, and simplifying over-refined art. The will is good—Heaven grant that the end may be

attained, namely, the production of a dinner combining the excellencies of nature and art. I was yesterday perfectly satisfied with mine, and, to crown the manifold enjoyments of the day, went to the Haymarket Theatre. 'Sweethearts and Wives' was performed better than anything I have yet seen. Mr. Buckstone (Billy), an overcharged caricature, indeed, but well sustained, the opposite of the more gentle Eugenia (Miss Taylor), and the flippant Laura (Mrs. Humby), and old Admiral Franklin (Mr. Strickland), afforded much amusement. In the second piece, 'The Wheel of Fortune,' Mr. Warde, as a kind of misanthrope, fell into that drawling, screaming, pausing and hesitating manner which is here highly applauded, but appears to me contrary to good taste, and for which I never could feel any relish.

All these secondary matters had nearly made me forget the most important matter, namely, a negotiation, the object of which is, to take a young English lady with me to Germany. There is no article of exportation in which the English are so far behind the French as in that of young women, sedate governesses, and old bonnes. The English might answer, this is a proof of our prosperity, of our contentment at home, of attachment to our country; whereas, poverty, ennui, and vanity drive the French women over the frontiers. I can only half concede the correctness of this conclusion: an easy and agreeable life certainly keeps the English women at home, and it is difficult to indemnify them on the continent;

but the French gain, by this kind of exportation, more influence in Europe than by ambassadors, spies, and all active agents of the male sex. It was not on the exportation of herrings and stock-fish that the English government should have granted drawbacks and bounties, but on that of their amiable countrywomen. It is to be hoped that the present very judicious ministry will, at least, defray the travelling expenses to the continental capitals, and they may be persuaded that this outlay will prove more advantageous to Great Britain than many large subsidies for the importation of German soldiers.

LETTER LIII.

Diplomatists—The English Church—Newspapers—Taxes on Literature—Selling Wives—Divorces.

Monday, June 13th.

YESTERDAY, after finishing my work, I paid several visits, and received your last letters at B——, B——. They give rise to a few remarks. Beware of judging of the situation of the world exclusively according to the views of certain diplomatists; they gradually acquire an invincible predilection for some things, and a perverse aversion from others. And what they have said a hundred times, they fancy, at last, to be as true as the gospel. Their dignity, or their affectation of dignity, prevents them from having any intercourse with persons of different ranks and professions; consequently they seldom hear an opinion or conviction decidedly and positively expressed. Life in its variety leads to angles and edges; diplomatic intercourse, on the contrary, resembles the meeting of polished marble balls. The diplomatists of the continent, especially, find it very difficult to comprehend Great Britain, which is so entirely different from what they have been accustomed to. If, in addition to this, they have made their first essay at Paris, and put French spectacles on a Russian nose, everything wavers and dances before their eyes, and all defined outlines and forms vanish from their sight.

A celebrated diplomatist lately said, the King of England will create from thirty to a hundred new peers, in order that the Bill on the Irish Church may pass the Upper House. I, who am neither celebrated nor a diplomatist, say he will not create any! Then, continued the other, the Bill will be rejected, and civil war will be organized by O'Connell. I say,—there will be no civil war; on the contrary, the Catholics will continue to content themselves with not paying tithes, and the Protestant Church, for which the zealots contend, will alone be the loser. Then, continued he, the Church will be ruined whether the Bill be passed or rejected; and if the Church is ruined the destruction of all England cannot be averted. I reply,—however long matters may remain in an unsettled state, a temporal spoliation of the Church (of which there is no mention whatever in the proposed Bill) will not occur, nor will the voluntary system be adopted. But as oaths and sinecures have been abolished in the state, they will likewise come to an end in the universities and the high Church. These changes will not lead to ruin, but only to the purifying of that which exists. The vitality of the whole British empire does not consist in one and the same external form of Church government: the Roman Catholic predominates in Ireland; the Episcopal in England; and in Scotland the Presbyterian; all live and will live more at their ease from year to year, if the stumbling-block of intolerance (which has been called a foundation of Christianity) is removed, and every church is

founded on the main article of our holy faith—Christian Charity.

You must not give entire credit to the journalists, any more than to the diplomatists. The simple, white light of truth is too insignificant for any of them, and must be parted into the coloured rays by refraction through their prism. But instead of playing on this many-coloured finger-board, each of them chooses *one* colour, and despises and depreciates all the rest. Daily practice, of course, gives readiness and dexterity, and it would be impossible in Germany to make such infinite variations upon one subject as in France and England. Whether we lose much by this is another question. The political declamations of the newspapers certainly excite passions and dissensions, or make them more manifest. On the other hand, the stimulant is again a sedative. The gunpowder, which in a confined space possesses immense power, and conceals in itself the greatest dangers, explodes innocuously when it can freely expand in all directions. Macchiavelli would probably recommend the writing of newspapers: *per sfogar gli umori*.

When you in Germany hear a noise, you fancy that every newspaper is charged with balls and grape shot, and that some must fall in the combat every day. But here the persons who are attacked, as well as those who are praised, pass unconcerned by the mouth of the gun pointed at them, and do not even look round.

Of the German newspapers, the 'Allgemeine Zeitung' alone has a distinct, I would say a Ger-

man, character. In a highly commendable manner, it opens its columns to every opinion, that the reader may be able to unite all these rays in one image of truth. It is very seldom that we observe either predilection, or restriction from without. The Berlin journals may possess good will, but they certainly do not succeed in carrying it into effect. Everything is more or less cut and trimmed, to serve certain partial and subordinate objects, and a conservative pair of spectacles is always used, that the eyes may not suffer from the too dazzling splendour of the sun of history.

It must be owned that every paper carries partiality to a far greater length; but by the side of the 'Standard' and 'John Bull,' there are the 'Globe' and 'Morning Chronicle;' and to amateurs of another class, the weathercock 'Times' may be recommended as a mediator.

All these large, dear, stamped newspapers (notwithstanding the difference of their characters) form as it were the aristocracy of the newspaper press; and opposed to them is the democracy of the unstamped papers. The former have, theoretically, a kind of monopoly, but cannot maintain it in practice against these demagogues. The stamp on newspapers had two objects in view: first, to raise money, and then to place the journals in the hands of opulent men; and, in the second place, to exclude the mob of writers. The last object has by no means been attained: for, first, the pretended dignified and well-bred journals have violated decorum and good breeding, without, however, meriting the

wholesale attack of the Radical Roebuck, who was compelled in one week humbly to retract several abusive sallies. In opposition to them, unstamped papers were established, but without permission, which, in the most shameful manner, attack property, morality, and everything venerable. Though they had not a very extensive sale (only 30,000 to 500,000 of the stamped papers), they however did but too much mischief; and all attempts to annihilate them failed. If a bad writer was convicted and punished, the people often considered him as a martyr of liberty, or two new seducers sprung up instead of one. If the venders of unstamped papers were taken up and imprisoned, they were better off than before. There was no means of imposing a stamp-duty on papers circulated in this manner, and thereby raising their price. While the large journals, which are sold for sevenpence, pay a stamp-duty of threepence halfpenny, the unstamped papers can be sold for one or two pence. The antidote is therefore seven times as dear as the poison. We neglect, says the 'Quarterly Review,' vol. xliii. p. 265, all means of inspiring the people with respect for the laws, and for what improves their corporal and intellectual situation, and allow the shameful portion of the press to act incessantly (and without any restriction on the part of the law of decorum and truth) on the mass of the people, and to promote rebellion, blasphemy, and treason. On this point O'Connell, the political adversary of the 'Quarterly Review,' agrees with it in the most essential

points; he said in Parliament (Hansard, xiii. 638), "The most inaccurate facts and opinions are announced without contradiction, and all those who are able and inclined to instruct the people are prevented from doing so, because they will not violate the law, and write for the unstamped papers. The advocates of the most dangerous doctrines, on the other hand, have no such scruples, and circulate them, while no opportunity is anywhere afforded to refute them."

On this and similar grounds it was proposed to reduce the stamp-duty on the larger journals to two pence, by this means to destroy the sale of the papers illegally sold without a stamp, and to supply the people with necessary and useful information at a cheaper rate, and in greater abundance. The oligarchical power of the great monopolists, and the demagogical powers of the obscure writers would thereby be equally put down. As the idea, that the people shall not read, or read only papers submitted to a censorship, appeared to be wholly impracticable in England for a thousand reasons, but little objection was made to the above principle, but it was doubted whether the increased sale of the papers would be sufficient to make up for the diminution which the revenue would experience from the reduction of the stamp-duty. However, the duty on advertisements was reduced. Formerly it was 3*s.* 6*d.* for an advertisement in a newspaper, and in any other literary publication 5*s.* 6*d.*; it is now 1*s.* 6*d.* for more than ten lines, and 1*s.* for less than ten lines. The apparently high stamp-

duty vanishes, however, in a great measure, when we consider that it includes the postage, and that the newspapers are sent through the whole kingdom, free from any further charge.

To me it appears indubitable, that, in the situation of England, the mischief which is caused by printed papers can be counteracted and cured only by means of the press. In this respect, as I have already mentioned, the Society for the Promotion of Useful Knowledge acts with a power far exceeding that of all bad obscure writers. In proportion as more is read more will be thought. If good and moral notions are inspired into the mass of the people, an immense advantage results, —an increase in the power and influence of the mind. Wholly to reject this means, instead of purifying it, would be encouraging ignorance. He who does not know how to carry on war with these intellectual arms must learn, but cannot prevent the use and effect of them by prohibitory measures. But this leads me into regions where general positions do not avail, because every nation has its own place in the scale of civilization, and requires a peculiar mode of education.

The stamps issued for the London journals show the number of the papers.

For	1825 . . .	16,910,000
	1828 . . .	17,735,000
	1830 . . .	19,763,000
	1831 . . .	22,048,000
	1832 . . .	21,432,000

The number increases on the whole, but not

in a greater proportion than the number of readers. For undoubtedly far more persons out of a hundred are now able to read than ten or twenty years ago. That the London press far surpasses all the others appears from the following comparison. Newspaper stamps were used in

	England.	Scotland.	Ireland.
1801	15,090,000	994,000	—
1810	22,519,000	1,459,000	—
1820	25,177,000	1,286,000	2,974,000
1830	27,370,000	3,133,000	4,025,000
1831	30,170,000	3,280,000	4,361,000
1832	29,427,000	3,264,000	4,518,000
1833	27,690,000	3,033,000	3,791,000

Many doubts are started respecting the accuracy of these numbers. However, they show the general tendency. I cannot here enter on the very special causes of the fluctuations. In 1832 duties to the following amount were paid:—

	£.
Times* and Evening Mail . . .	62,949
Morning Herald and English Chronicle	7,743
Morning Advertiser	5,404
Morning Chronicle and Journals belonging to it	3,794

The Dublin journals used 3,378,000 stamps.

* The great sale of the Times arises partly from its being the principal journal for advertisements of all kinds.

Of the country papers the greatest amount of stamp duty is paid by the

	£.
Edinburgh Advertiser	1,952
Edinburgh Courant	1,923
Birmingham Journal	1,891
Liverpool Advertiser	1,730
Manchester Guardian	1,671

Great as the number of British journals appears, it is far exceeded by those of North America; for the former are estimated at only 34,000,000, and the latter at 60,000,000. The number of advertisements in the journals of New York is said to have amounted in one year to 1,456,000; and in all England to only 1,020,000. Doubtful, and even inaccurate, as these calculations may be, it cannot be denied that the stamp-duty and the high price certainly diminish the number of journals, of advertisements, and of readers. In America, for instance, a paper costs 4*d.* or 5*d.* less than in England. There were published in that country, in 1775, 37 journals; in 1810, 358; in 1828, 802.

In Bengal there were published, in 1814, 1 journal; in 1830, 33;—in Calcutta, 1814, none; now 8 journals.

I leave it to you to make your own commentary on all this, and add only one comparison. A people that possesses no journals is destitute of the small coin necessary for intellectual traffic; it is restricted and hindered in the smallest transactions. On the other hand, a people whose literature and reading is confined to daily papers and

journals, or is supplanted by them, fancies itself rich in the possession of this infinite number of pence and farthings; but gold and silver have gradually disappeared, and the faculty of recovering them is lost. The labour of serious thought and solid writing is disdained in this literary mill. He who can conceive three ideas, and put them to paper, passes for an author; he who offers the readers more, or expects more from them, is considered as a pedant, and deficient in that versatile dexterity which the age requires, and exclusively commends. Heaven grant that we Germans may not also forget how to think and read from the influence of this legerdemain!

The taxes on newspapers are connected with those on literature in general. They were, and, notwithstanding some reductions, are still, much too high. Thus the expense of 500 copies of a volume of 500 pages, is—

	£.	s.		£.	s.
Printing and Corrections	88	8			
Paper	38	0	Duty 8	12	
Boarding	10	0	..	3	3
Advertisements . . .	30	0	..	9	0
Total .	£166	8		£20	15

Eleven copies must be delivered to libraries which, for the most part, are not open to the public; and a third and most unreasonable impost is the previous payment of the full amount of the taxes, though the edition is frequently not sold, but thrown aside as useless. One of the strangest

regulations is that imposing a duty on the importation of books. Books printed before the year 1801 are liable to a duty of 1*l.* per cwt., and if printed since 1801 to a duty of 5*l.* per cwt., an excessive and most absurd tax on all modern literature. How much more liberal is the Prussian government, which imposes a duty of only 1*s.* 6*d.* per cwt.!

London, 14th July.

K. writes me that G. E. wishes for some information respecting the sale of wives in England. B. P., one of the most eminent English judges, with whom I was dining yesterday, gave me the following facts. In some parts of England an opinion prevails among the lower classes that such a sale is lawful, if it is made with the mutual consent of husband and wife. The laws have never sanctioned or recognised it; and it has no effect whatever in reference to a dissolution of the marriage, a second marriage, heirs, &c. When such a case is brought before a court of justice, the parties are generally sentenced to two months' imprisonment.

The Ecclesiastical Court has the right to separate from bed and board on account of adultery, and for no other reason; but it can never permit either one or both parties to contract a second marriage. A full divorce (*a vinculo matrimonii*), and including a permission for a second marriage, can be granted by Parliament only, but on the above ground. As the proofs, however, are seldom considered sufficient, and the costs are al-

ways exorbitant, divorces occur very rarely, and among people of fortune; but, properly speaking, the mass of the people cannot obtain a sentence of divorce. Sentences of nullity of marriage (for example, because it was not performed by a regular clergyman, &c.) may, as by the Romish ecclesiastical law, certainly be obtained here; but they are of course very rare, and must not be confounded with a divorce. Another lawyer told me, that though the law permitted a wife to sue for a divorce, on the ground of adultery, it was so extremely rare, that he could recollect scarcely a single instance of its occurrence. If, however, the other party can institute a similar counter-plea, no divorce takes place. Damages, in case of adultery, are determined by a jury. The Scotch laws vary, in some points, from the English; for example, the Ecclesiastical Court decides in the last instance, and can pronounce a divorce after a wilful desertion of four years.

All these laws are evidently much more like those of the Roman Catholic Church than ours; treating marriage as an indissoluble tie, and placed almost beyond human interference. The consequences of this law appear to me most important in what I might call its non-application. Several married ladies assured me, that no one looked upon a separation as even possible, and that the idea would no more occur than that of having two husbands, or two wives, at the same time. All considerations,—whether or not we shall endure certain grievances, whether we shall improve our condition by a separation, be at liberty to choose a richer or

more beautiful person,—all these exciting, or insinuating evils of the domestic relations are obviated, or at least find an antidote, in the peculiar habit of thinking induced by this law. All marriages do not, on this account, become happy; but I affirm, that the English prohibition of divorce tends more towards the attainment of this object, than the too great facility of obtaining a divorce in other countries. Much, again, depends on the national character, and the very same law would have a very different effect in Italy and in England. If the family is, and is to remain, the basis of all larger human connexions, it seems to me, according to all I see and hear, to be here so firm and so sound, that it will long continue to bear and support the stupendous edifice which is reared upon it.

LETTER LIV.

English Ladies—English Literature and Philosophy—Authors and Publishers—James I.—Oaths—Don Carlos.

London, Wednesday, 15th July.

I WILL fetch up my journal with all possible brevity. On the 13th I dined at Baron P———'s, and became acquainted with his agreeable lady and two daughters, who understand German very well. Yesterday I dined at Mr. S——'s, where I saw, for the first time, Archbishop Whately, of Dublin, and his chaplain, Mr. D———. I then found ———. I mention this because I am gradually becoming better acquainted, and more at home in certain circles, by which the pleasures of society are much increased. Every time I hear and learn something new and interesting.

The English ladies are in general represented as mute, stiff, cold, prudish, and praised only for their beauty. To the last I have already done justice; but the same justice calls on me positively to contradict the other parts of the description. In the first place, most of the ladies are very well informed; so that the conversation is by no means confined (as is very often the case in Italy) to trivial compliments and commonplace. I am inclined also to affirm that the English women have more social animation, a more engaging versatility, than the men. As soon as my

imperfect knowledge of the language allowed me to express but half a thought, or any feeling, I found them ready to comprehend and meet it, and that in such a lively, cheerful, natural manner, that I cannot conceive any intercourse more agreeable; not a trace of stiffness, affected dignity, or insipid coquetry; but the just, positive, sound medium between two extremes. The same may be said of their dress. It is, on the whole, more simple than the German and French; nay, there appears, perhaps, now and then, a certain indifference to the petty arts of the toilet: on the other hand, it is very seldom that you see them dressed up and bedizened. You say, perhaps, that I am partial; with them I am, at least, very disinterestedly so; that is to say, I find the English ladies amiable, though none of them has returned, or could return, the compliment to an old devourer of manuscripts (Abel Remusat called me *Bibliophage)* like myself.

I could say much more of the English women; but it is very difficult to go into the minutiæ of character, if we cannot produce living specimens of this higher or highest botany. I must therefore, at least for the present, break off, to take to my notes, and communicate to you what first comes to hand.

I find one of them entitled English Literature. It contains, however, but few remarks; for we have so frequently discussed this subject, that little remains to be added, and we have only to inquire what the English themselves think about it. The thread of life of their greatest poets has been

all too soon cut by the hand of Fate. Or perhaps not; for instance, I scarcely know how Byron could have proceeded any farther in the course he had pursued. He was rather a great poetic energy, than a great poet; for the excess of the demoniacal, which was in his nature, and which he developed at the same time with predilection and hatred, is at variance with the noblest destination of a poet. In Homer, Sophocles, Cervantes, Shakspeare, and Tieck, I trace this highest impress, of a union of cheerfulness and profundity, of independence and sensibility, and of that charity, without which all poetry is but a sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal.

Suffer me to be a little captious in my criticism—it is not ill-meant. In the character of Horace there are two distinct features—the Stoic and the Epicurean—both remarkable and peculiar, but not blended in one indivisible whole. In Dante's austerity, mildness and beauty are sometimes lost; and Petrarch's effeminate tenderness may, in the end, excite disgust. Ariosto does not offend me by his frivolity, but because he does not appear to believe, with all his heart, the gay scenes which he displays before our eyes. Aristophanes, with much more offensive ambiguity, possesses more elevation and gravity of mind than Ariosto. The proud, cold, state-road of Corneille and Alfieri does not lead so far into the sacred groves of poetry as the unpretending side-path of Goldoni and Holberg; and one piece of Shakspeare is sufficient to blow up all the poesy of the reign of Queen Anne. Lessing, who

said, and knew himself, that he was not a poet in the full sense of the word, had yet a poetry of mind and character, which raises him above many who are richer in imagery and characters, or who fancy they are. Lastly, Goethe—has not his gigantic universality done him more harm than good? Yet this German Jupiter is to the new French poets as a work of Phidias compared with the picture of the 'Plague,' which is so highly admired in the Palais du Luxembourg. I return from this digression to Lord Byron; but instead of giving any opinion of my own, I will quote that of the 'Edinburgh Review,' (liii., 572.) The very ingenious critic, after doing full justice to the talents of Byron, adds, with equal truth and wit:—A dangerous and fanatic association between mental energy and moral degeneracy was awakened in the minds of many enthusiasts from the poems of Byron: they developed a system of morality composed of misanthropy and sensuality, a system of which the two leading commandments were—hate thine enemy and love his wife.

If poets become extinct in a nation, the poetic feeling may, notwithstanding, be long kept alive, especially by the female sex; on the other hand, they are no pillars of philosophy, as a science. This branch of austere intellectual exertion appears, at present, to be the most remote from the English, and a work like Aristotle's 'Metaphysics,' with its innumerable problems, must appear to them as superfluous and insignificant as Dutch toys. How many, even of the leading men, look only after a precedent, in

order to arrange the present and future accordingly; and yet everything that stands isolated is unfit to establish an invariable rule, and the scattered parts can never be combined in a uniform intelligible whole without science. On the other hand, there is unquestionably more truth and life in every individual actual fact, than in the empty formulæ of false philosophers; and if England possesses no other remedy against unsatisfactory empiricism than the new edition of it by the Benthamites, I, for my part, will rather abide by the old pharmacopœia of precedents.

But I have already told you this ten times. Let us, therefore, turn to another subject in literature, to which I have not yet alluded,—I mean the rights of authors and publishers. By a law passed in the time of Queen Anne, both had an exclusive copyright for fourteen years, which was prolonged for an equal time if the author was alive at the expiration of the first term. It was certainly a great mistake to make a privilege depend solely on the accidental or uncertain continuance of life. A new law, therefore, secures to the author, whether dead or alive, his property for twenty-eight years, and at all events till his death, should this take place *after* the term of twenty-eight years. It has been disputed whether this literary property would, after this time, be of any considerable value. We can hardly doubt this in the case of certain celebrated works, yet the above limitation is adhered to, because the further extension of the copyright would in proportion be less advantageous to the author than injurious to the public.

Thursday, 16th July.

I have undoubtedly been right in confining my historical researches to certain subjects and eras, and not wasting my time by indiscriminate reading. Out of curiosity I took up at the Museum some MSS., among them Nicholas Estrange's 'Collection of Jests.' The greater part are of the time of Charles II., but so destitute of wit, so obscene, and disgusting, that I cannot give you a specimen.

Compared with the time of Charles II., immorality, cursing, swearing, &c., have very greatly decreased. The latter vice was, for a long time, so far promoted by the legislature, as it imposed an immense multitude of oaths, and in part on persons who could often know nothing of what they were required to swear to. Thus, in the course of one year, 101,596 oaths were administered at the Custom House, and 194,612 at the Excise. By a law which was passed in July, 1831, very many of these oaths have been abolished*.

In No. CVII. of the 'Quarterly Review,' the translation of my 'Historical Letters' is reviewed with much talent, especially the question relative to Don Carlos. The 'Letters from Paris in 1830' are also favourably noticed by the reviewer. When, however, he says, the author did not court society, and professes to have seen and become acquainted only with what strikes the eye of every observer in the streets, taverns, and theatre, I must take the liberty of contradicting it. I, in

* Hansard, iii. 1282; iv. 1310.

fact, sought and visited societies of various descriptions, only I have avoided specifying any person, and thereby giving offence,—otherwise the critic would have discovered among them wealthy merchants and distinguished literati, old and new peers, members of the Chamber of Deputies, the most celebrated diplomatists, and three of the present ministers of Louis Philippe.

In another periodical it is said, "the translation of Raumer's 'Letters' is the newest literary production of Lord Egerton Gower, and we beg to offer him our best thanks for it. But should we ever be so fortunate as to possess the third part of his income, we would bear it very patiently if the whole world brayed at our happiest efforts."

LETTER LV.

John Sebastian Bach and Handel—The Parks in London—Grandeur and Wealth of England—Advantages of Germany—Value of the Past and the Present—Immortality of Nations—Rich and Poor—St. Simon—Democracy of Christianity.

Saturday, 18*th July*.

I was obliged to put off to another day two very kind invitations, one from the Scotch historian, Mr. T. (Tytler?), in order to dine once more with Mr. M., sen., before his departure with his family for the Continent. Every conversation with the father or son, who are both well-informed men, is interesting and instructive.

Mr. T., like myself, studies at the State Paper Office, but we are the only persons who labour in good earnest. Far from envying each other, we mutually communicate such discoveries as may aid us in our researches. This always should be, though it seldom is the case.

After dinner I went to Mr. S., whose wife and daughter are desirous of penetrating the ancient chapels and sacred halls of John Sebastian Bach, and they will do so, as they have sufficient talent, if their patience does not forsake them in the first few weeks. Of the two fundamental pillars of German musical art the French and the Italians know neither, and the English only one,—that is Handel. When they shall equally appreciate the second giant—the Michael Angelo of his age

—John Sebastian Bach, and not before, they will stand so firmly, that the swell of the new-fangled torrent will not be able to overthrow and carry them away.

To enjoy the beauty of the evening, Waagen and myself walked through the three fine parks on the south and south-west side of London. Their peculiar features, their proximity to the immense metropolis, excited in me a feeling such as I have never experienced before. We, indeed, trace the helping hand of man,—but all is so natural, nay in parts apparently neglected;—in the distance are the long rows of gas-lamps; and, notwithstanding, we enjoy a sense of silent solitude. You see, from the whole, that a London day, with the utmost simplicity, yet combines variety and a charm unique in its kind.

Waagen and myself have seen and observed so much in our different pursuits—we are both past that time of life when men are easily deceived and infatuated—we are both at an age when the *nil admirari* so often appears as the result of the whole life, and yet our attachment to England, and our admiration of England, increase every day, instead of diminishing, as so often happens, with the prolongation of our visit. Thus, without intending it, we yesterday evening commenced a panegyric upon England, and then upon ourselves, for not having been deterred from undertaking our journey by all the difficulties which the spirit of the gold-mine, among others, threw in our way. It appears very singular to us to learn so much in a short time, at a

period of life when we almost begin to forget; and not because any particular wisdom is instilled into us by any single individual, but by the totality of the daily impressions which arise from the manifold culture of the country, and its inhabitants, and from its wealth.

We sometimes deride riches, partly because the grapes hang too high; but I cannot esteem, as rich men, those who are accounted such in our country. When a man in full health goes to a watering-place, or a lady buys new furniture though the old would have lasted her life,—we say, indeed, these are people of fortune, they live like persons of fortune. Surely the man who fixes his heart on such a mammon as this obeys but a senseless demon. Wealth is power, bodily as well as intellectual, and as the sinful use of this power is condemnable, so is its right application praiseworthy and beneficial. Much, therefore, depends on the way in which this wealth was acquired, and what use is made of it. If it is the gift merely of chance, or of the lottery, it generally vanishes with the same rapidity with which it came. It is in that case no proof, no result, of real power.

Of all the prizes on earth, England has drawn the greatest, as Shakspeare long since felt and described with bold enthusiasm and warm attachment. Yet the inhabitants of this happy island, (*nimium fortunati sua si bona norint*) would be culpable, if instead of gratefully thanking heaven for their uninterrupted peace, thus were to forget the desolation which the useless, barbarous wars

occasion in other countries: while here capital accumulates with interest upon interest, it is there more or less destroyed nearly every ten years. Those who are less favoured are therefore deserving of double praise, if they are not discouraged in mental and bodily exertions, indefatigably enter into a competition with England in every way, and in a career beset with the greatest difficulties, and are by no means everwhere defeated.

Great Britain has recognised the advantages of its position, and improved them by the most active exertions. It has become substantially and intellectually so rich, and has such a broad and firm foundation, that it has borne easily, and for a long period, evils under which other states would have expired. Riches, I said, is not merely money, nay, not even merely material property. Let us, for instance, oppose our toleration to English intolerance; it is we who are rich, and have acquired in that principle an immense capital, which daily produces certain interest. In the same manner, we have gained, by the abolition of military intolerance and of corporal punishment, a fund of human feeling and human dignity, which cannot indeed be turned into coin, but by which we may overcome many rich people.

You see that I have involuntarily been led to show, that we are not quite so poor in our country as we often appear, when viewed through a pair of English spectacles mounted in gold. But this by no means lessens my praise of England: I am well acquainted with the oddities which are

manifested, the little contradictions, prejudices, &c., and if I had a mind to give free scope to my tongue and to my pen, I might tell you much that was amusing and *piquant;* but he who skims off these bubbles does not penetrate below the surface. How many of such bubbles, which figure in all older novels and journals of travellers, have burst and disappeared within these few years! And so will those of the present day pass harmlessly by and make room for others. And now, in the great relations of life, have not vitality and motion manifested themselves? Whether too much, has been often the subject of discussion. I would compare England to a beautiful statue, upon which all kinds of black flies are crawling; the Radicals would kill them by violence, but would thereby produce offensive stains: the Ultra Tories say, they belong to the statue and heighten its beauty, by the contrast of black and white. The Whigs want to blow them away, but then the Tories, in order to prevent it, hold their hands before them, at which the flies are either frightened and fly away, or when their time is come, become faint and fall to the ground and perish. Thus, the corn laws, the navigation monopoly, religious oaths have died away, and only the subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles, by schoolboys and students, is still considered as a kind of vaccination against all the diseases of sectarianism, though the whole effect of it is, that those who are called orthodox may set themselves down more conveniently to the fleshpots of Egypt.

Sunday, 19th July.

While I am seated quietly in my room, and writing for you eulogiums on England, I certainly do not think of courting favour by it. In the first place, an opposite view would probably receive greater applause out of England; and even here I shall scarcely please anybody. When Cobbett, for instance, in travelling about the country, infers, from the size of the churches, that England, four or five centuries back, was more populous than at present; when he everywhere sees ruined houses and deserted farms, how he would upbraid me, for not seeing anything of all this! When he complains that the peasantry consume so little of what they produce, this is about as reasonable as if I were to commiserate the cloth-worker and stocking-weaver, because he does not wear all the cloth and all the stockings manufactured by him, till they are worn out. When Cobbett goes on to characterize the merchants, that is, all who buy in order to sell again, as useless and unproductive, as drones in the hive, he misunderstands the nature of human traffic — though not more than Adam Smith, when he recognizes only material productions, and forgets that they acquire form and value from the mind, which is the grand producer and creator on earth.

I never, therefore, can or shall agree with the exclusive panegyrists of the past, who would willingly make the history of the world retrograde; and as little with the advocates of the sterile, unstable, passing day. I mean to say, that he

who does not understand the ages of Henry V., the time of Queen Elizabeth, the early periods of British history, as well on the dark as on the light sides, will likewise be incapable of judging correctly of the present. What absurd things, for example, are declaimed about the dark ages by certain literary fungi, who complacently view themselves in the light of yesterday! Are the old and wonderful cathedrals of England less manifest proofs of energy of mind, and hand, than iron rail-roads? Who takes the lead, the architect of Westminster Abbey or of Buckingham Palace? Who had a more comprehensive idea of the church,—Thomas à Becket, or a modern professor of theology, who would edify himself in a chair with thirty-nine sides or angles? Where is greater Christian heroism and chivalry,—in Richard the Lion Heart and his valiant compeers; or in those who imagine the existence of England to be dependent on the existence of the Turkish Sultan? Where shall we find greater clearness, euphony, light, and harmony,—in Shakspeare's 'Midsummer Night's Dream,' and his 'As you like it;' or in Byron's 'Don Juan'?—. Therefore, honour your ancestors, that your posterity may do justice to you.

Every race has its own labour, its own task, its own standard. Happy is he whom Heaven so favours that he conceives different ages; thinks, lives, and feels in them. Phidias and Raffaelle, Sophocles and Shakspeare, Herodotus and Hume are near to his understanding and his heart. But one and the same age cannot produce things so

opposite in their nature. Hume's view of the world is as impossible under the clear sky of ancient Ionia, as the simple cheerfulness of Herodotus in the foggy atmosphere of London. Woe to the individual and the nation that does not see what it should and can do,—that aims at too little or too much,—that looks only forward or backward. All human development consists of the past, the present, and the future. The child is a child only because the past does not exist for it, and the old man becomes childish when, as an extravagant panegyrist of the past, *laudator temporis acti*, he thinks no more of the future.

Hume inquires in what the euthanasia of England will consist. I again deny that we have a right to assume for any nation an unconditional necessity to die; it can and it ought to renovate itself, and always enter upon a new career. If this does not happen, the judgment of history on the dead will record, with the praise, grounds for censure. In the same manner as I do not consider the life of England to consist entirely in its political institutions, so neither do I see in them the exclusive possibility of a mortal disease. Allow me (that I may not always act the panegyrist) to point out two other considerable dangers. The difference between the richest and the poorest people in England is probably not greater than in other countries, only the rich here are richer, and the poor (in spite of all complaints) on the whole less poor than in many states of the continent. But if the possibility of profitable exertion should be diminished by any

extensive change, the fall from a greater elevation would be more severe, the loss more painful, the transition to another state of things more difficult. Therefore, it is not merely a party or pecuniary matter, but a business of immense importance, to take advantage of the favourable moment to remove everything that is too artificial and complex, and to prefer a natural state to that of a dangerous over-excitement. The corn-laws and prohibitory system must be abolished, nay, practically the former do not operate at all this year; and Prussia and Germany show how a country that is less rich, less favoured by nature enjoys a healthy state, as soon as it rejects this over-excitement, and does not consider this kind of political mercantile brandy to be the cordial of life.

No state, as I shall prove to you, has remitted so many taxes within the last twenty years as England, and taxes too which in proportion bore the heaviest on the lower classes; yet the latter, here and in all Europe, contribute more in proportion to the public burthens than the rich. What they have gained in personal rights, since the time of the middle ages, is counterbalanced, on the other hand, by the circumstance that the burthen of military service, to which in former times only the feudal nobility were subject, has now become heavier, and is imposed on all without exception. He who possesses the greatest rights should also bear the greatest burthens. This was the spirit of the legislation of Solon and Servius Tullus, and it is the business of our

times to remove, by comprehensive and liberal measures, the discontent of the masses of the people, which is by no means unfounded. A secret police and indiscreet blame of the absolutists are as inefficacious to remove the dissatisfaction which has spread among the people, as the abolition of property and of hereditary rights proposed by the ochlocratic tyrants of the school of St. Simon. When, instead of feudal services, taxes on consumption were introduced into England, and on the continent the miserably small tax on noble estates,—the superior classes gained an immense capital, and the inferior have since everywhere borne greater burthens.

But whatever may be effected in this respect by the most prudent and humane statesmen, they can never remove all grounds for complaint and discontent. From the soil of Christianity the rich must derive equity and charity; the poor, patience and content. The grand object which must be constantly kept in view, is to diminish in a financial point of view, and to reconcile by a Christian spirit, the difference between rich and poor, and not violently to remove it. Genuine democracy by no means consists in making *all equal;* on the contrary, its object is to do away with all forced equality, and to give to every one, however differing in faculty and powers, the possibility and the opportunity to exert them unconstrained and in their proper sphere; and that you may not misunderstand me, and hand me over to the commission at Mayence, I say, in Christianity, and in Christianity alone, which breaks the shackles of

mind, is the dignity and the humility of genuine democracy. On this text I shall perhaps preach some other time.

The revolutionist respects no property. His object is (after he has selected the best portion for himself) to throw all the rest into the street for universal pillage. It is the object of the true statesman, on the contrary, not only to secure property, but to give property to every one. The greater the number of independent proprietors in a state, the more solid and durable is its situation. The smaller the number, the greater is its danger.

LETTER LVI.

Italy—Poland—Constitutions—Money—Labour—Value—Prices —Utilitarian Doctrine.

Wednesday, 22nd July, 1835.

I PASSED Tuesday, till noon, in the same manner as Monday. I dined at Mr.———'s, with five Italians, all of whom were probably on bad terms with the Austrian government. At least, they complained of the situation of their country, and I know enough of history to paint this dark picture! (See my account of the decline of Venice in my autumnal tour.) But the Italians have twice ruled the world; what people can make the same boast? —and is it not natural that they should not run *this course* for the third time, but yield it to other nations? Their country is still favoured by heaven; and instead of chambers, constitutions, journals, and pamphlets, they have the beauty of the sky, of the earth, and of the women. Art and science are not dead, and the spirit of each individual is still youthful and vigorous. Only in a body (where renunciation of personal objects, restriction of individual will is a main object) they have seldom conducted themselves in a suitable manner, and therefore suffer as much by individual diversity of action, as the French do by abstract universality. The desire to obtain an *entire undivided* Italy may be right, if we are to

understand by it a unity which does not destroy the divinity; but if we are to understand a centralized Italy, with one sovereign capital, *à la Française*, I do not see, in such a change, even a euthanasia, and still less a real regeneration. The nobler problem is, to retain the rich variety of Italy, and only to cause the bond of intellectual union to be more apparent. The French are the most numerous, the most easily animated people in Europe; yet the English, Italians, and Germans have the advantage of them, because the activity of intellectual and civil life is not confined to a single spot, but provinces, towns, and villages have a direct share in it; because one sun does not shine alone (Paris), but there is a complete harmonious system of sun and planets. The towns of the second rank are far more active and lively than in France, and in Italy and Germany there is no acknowledged metropolis. This state of things has some drawbacks, but certainly it has very great advantages.

It is not possible, by means of a paper constitution, either suddenly to renovate a decayed people, or suddenly to civilize one that is uncultivated. It cannot have any salutary effect till it is the result of all substantial and ideal relations, and harmonizes with them; for this very reason all servile imitations and adoption of external forms is nothing but a vain undertaking. Put two chambers, an electoral system, or anything of this kind that you please, in Naples, Rome, or Milan, would new freedom and order really be immediately produced by this panacea? I very much doubt it. Let every Italian commence the rege-

neration of his country with himself; let him employ his aristocratic enthusiasm in improving the situation of the mass of the people, even with personal sacrifices; let him educate himself as well as his vassals, and with the growth of moral and intellectual freedom, political freedom will, unperceived, ensue. Nay, in the end it is essentially the same, for he who possesses intellectual and moral freedom will, in the end, find all the rest come of itself. Every government which avoids and hinders this kind of improvement is sinful and condemnable; every government which fancies that its existence depends on police regulations has a bad conscience.

The individual Pole in the north, the individual Italian in the south, of Europe, is perhaps superior to the individual of any other nation; but in a body, the Russians and French hold better, longer, more harmoniously together. The fate of Poland and Italy is to be accounted for, not alone from the circumstance of their having bad neighbours, but from this peculiar feature of the national character.

I said, constitutions cannot be transplanted; if placed in hot-houses they are stunted, and equally pine in the open air. What strange things were produced when Lord Bentinck benevolently attempted to introduce the English constitution into Sicily! The whole edifice fell to pieces in the first year! The Prussian municipal organization, which acts so temperately and calmly in its native home, would, if introduced in France, not merely annihilate the exaggerated

system of centralization, but probably put an end to all obedience, and render a general government impossible. So much depends on national character and local circumstances. The English, who incomparably approximate more closely to the German character than the French, may introduce similar municipal laws, without incurring such a danger; or the necessary crisis, the unavoidable transition to new forms, will lead to a salutary equilibrium much more speedily than timid persons imagine.

At the house of Mr. P———, I engaged with Mr. ——— in a lively, I would almost say German, conversation, on money, labour, measure of value, and such matters. I am convinced that every attempt to discover, by abstract reasoning, anything positive, permanent, and universal on these subjects must fail. Money is at the same time a measure and measured, quantity and quality, rising and falling. Labour, that is to say, the application of bodily and intellectual power, is considered, and laid down by a more modern school, as the more permanent, unchangeable standard. But I cannot discover these qualities in fact. If a Polish peasant makes twenty thousand steps in a day, following his plough, and an English peasant does the same, the labour, in this abstract, arithmetical estimate, is equal; in like manner, when the best and the worst author write in a given time an equal number of words, two painters make an equal number of strokes, two musicians play the same number of notes, &c. But do I know anything of the per-

formance of the people, of the nature of their work, if, setting everything else aside, I abide by this dry abstraction? Therefore, the motion of the legs, arms, and fingers gives no certain and equable standard; the hunter who misses his game, does in this respect as much as he who hits it; the painter who produces a caricature, works perhaps a hundred times as much as he whose hand is at once guided by genius. We must, therefore, have regard to the product of the labour. But how diverse are the notions in respect to the *value!* This, says my opponent, depends unconditionally upon its utility to civil society. But what is meant by utility, and civil society? If I pay one thousand dollars for a relic, is it not worth that sum to the seller, and do I not think on my side that I have made a good bargain? Infatuation! cries my opponent. If I pay a high price for the autograph of a celebrated man deceased, or a book from his library? Infatuation! If the lock of my beloved is worth more to me than ten thousand bushels of potatoes? Infatuation! If the British Parliament purchases two pictures by Correggio at an enormous price? Infatuation and prodigality!

At these and similar conclusions we must arrive, if we proceed logically in this course, and throw aside the development of language, thought, and feeling, to worship exclusively the idol of what is called *utility*. It is not enough to fling to this Moloch all sorts of delicacies; for it devours with greedy haste churches, schools, libraries, picture-galleries, nay, even stones, if they

have but passed through the hand of an artist! When all this is consumed, the insatiate monster turns to things which we fondly hoped were secure from his attacks; he falls upon the polished ornaments of our harness, and the collars of our dogs; he licks the tapestry from our walls, tears the carpets from our apartments, sucks the colours and patterns from the painted muslins and silks, pulls the flags from the church steeples, and the colours from the masts; for all this is shameful luxury, and useless for civil society. That, cries my adversary, is a totally false application and exaggeration of our system! Very well; but *ex ungue leonem.* But where will you Utilitarians (an odious word) stop in your reformations, or your proscriptions? At the Relic?—the Lock?—the Correggios? Or where, and wherefore? Your fundamental idea is false; for there are no positive limits to its application. So long as the notion of utility remains a relative notion (as it has done for thousands of years), which receives its definite meaning from other and more exalted notions and investigations, no reasonable person can deny its value and importance; but when placed as an absolute monarch on the throne, it destroys what it ought to honour and preserve.

But have I not told you all this ten times before? Well, you must forgive me if I speak on certain subjects χαιρως καὶ ἀκαιρως. I know, indeed, that you are not a Utilitarian; and this time I write without thinking of you. Allow me therefore room for an appendix, a *coda* to my subject, with variations.

Wheat, remarked Mr. —— yesterday, is the most durable standard, and consequently retains the same value; for the same quantity has for thousands of years furnished the same nourishment, and man requires the same quantity for his subsistence as he did thousands of years ago. This was the notion of the French, when, in their Constitutions, they fixed the salary of their deputies in wheat, and not in money, because the latter so often changes its value. Within a year the whole Constitution became worthless; wheat and money, on the contrary, both retained their value and their proper destination. But it may be asked,—Is wheat designed by heaven not merely to be eaten, but also to measure the value of other things? I doubt.

First, different persons by no means require equal quantities of wheaten bread for their subsistence; nay, whole nations differ very much in this respect. A Frenchman, for instance, requires twice as much bread as an Englishman, and the latter twice as much meat as the Frenchman. A colony of the French settled in Germany would rather cause the price of corn to rise, and the English the price of cattle. Besides, all wheat is not equally good and nutritious; but there is as great a difference between the different sorts as between metallic currency of a different standard. Lastly, wheat can least of all be assumed as the standard of value where it does not grow. Potatoes, rice, meat, fish, &c. might rather claim this right in many places. Must we not, then, allow, that a metallic currency, notwithstanding its defects, is the most convenient standard for

every moment of a given time? In the proportion, and with the rapidity with which the mass of provisions increases or decreases, in productive or unproductive years, the quantities of money by no means change. But should it be objected, that this is not the point in question, but the constantly equal nourishing power of wheat, &c., I observe, that, in cheap and abundant years, far more provisions are consumed than in dear and unfruitful seasons; and therefore no necessary and constantly equal demand can be assumed.

But let us for once set aside all these objections as wholly unimportant. Let us assume, that every man consumes at all times a certain quantity of wheat,—what have I gained by it? Do I therefore know that every man may easily obtain this quantity,—or what value, as an article of sale, or barter, or production, it has? Does not one article vanish among a thousand others which man requires? Are there not innumerable points of more importance than an inquiry into the nutritive power of wheat? Can I determine by it all other revenues and disbursements, reduce the value of all exertions to that of wheat, and comprise the manifold efforts of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures in one formula, or satisfactorily illustrate and explain it from so abstract a point of view? By no means. On the contrary, the errors which have arisen from these theories have led practically to great sufferings and evil consequences. How many landowners, how many farmers, have been ruined, because in England the revenue of estates was mostly calculated in wheat,

or because inferences for the future were drawn, without sufficient reason, from the average prices of the past? But enough of this discussion. In fine, I have merely affirmed, and endeavoured to prove, that in this moving earth there is nothing immoveable; that in the contracted human mind we can find nothing positive respecting earthly and temporal things; in all that may be measured, not the infinite; and in no relative notion the eternal polar star of human thought, feeling, and action.

London, July 23rd, 1835.

Yesterday I completed all the essential part of my labour in the public archives relative to the history of Mary Queen of Scots; and I am already, with the exception of some small portions, for the years 1740 to 1763. The question, therefore, was, whether I should begin a new work; for instance, from 1660 to 1713. However important this appeared, I decided, after mature deliberation, that it was absolutely indispensable for my work, to see England as it now is, and to collect facts, to confirm or to refute the result of the researches I have hitherto made. For this purpose it is necessary to take advantage of the long days for travelling; and so to lay down the plans for my journey, that, in case of need, I may be at liberty to take a day or two more than I intended, or to turn aside for the sake of seeing something remarkable.

LETTER LVII.

Schools—Universities—The Irish Church.

THERE is scarcely any point in which England differs so much from Germany as with respect to schools, universities, and education in general. I have taken all possible pains to become thoroughly acquainted with the subject, and to form a correct idea of it; notwithstanding this, I am sure that my report will not satisfy you, much less an Englishman. Yet let me make the attempt.

First of all, there is in England no system whatever of general national education by means of schools and universities, and no authority whatever for a comprehensive, or even partial direction of the whole. This state of things has not unfrequently been extolled as a proof of independence, and as facilitating a freer development; also, because it is supposed to encourage individuals to interest themselves, and to unite for the promotion of those objects, precisely on the occasions, and in the degree, that the want is felt, and assistance needed. But this freedom has often proved merely negative, and led to many irregularities: besides, in spite of all the efforts of individuals, there are no schools in very many villages; and in most of the towns they are neither sufficiently numerous, nor do they

answer the most reasonable expectations. While Lord Brougham was giving a very magnificent description of the progress of education, he, however, owned that an additional expense of about 1,200,000*l.* per annum would be required to effect a general national education, and the 'Edinburgh Review' (vol. lviii.) affirms, that scarcely one-half of the children in England receive an adequate school education.

Like every church, civic community, and corporation, so also does every school require a certain degree of independence, in order to act with energy and effect. But if this independence goes so far as to exclude all connexion with similar institutions, and joint direction is utterly disdained, everything falls into a state of self-flattering presumption, and, in the end, helpless isolation, and the shadow is but too often substituted for the real substance. Among us, perhaps, complaints have been justly made, in individual instances, of too much interference of the superior authorities; and of the mania of governing; but here we may learn what are the consequences, when there is no government whatever in these matters, and all is left to the caprice of individuals and to chance. The education of the people is one of the most important objects of public legislation; and the two erroneous ways are, either not to give it any direction whatever from higher authority, or to direct it tyrannically, on partial principles, and for partial ends: these two courses are equally wrong; and may, and must, be corrected.

Probably no country in the world possesses so

many ancient venerable institutions for this purpose as England; and yet, with proportionably the amplest means, the least is effected. The entire independence of all the institutions for education has often led to the greatest and most self-interested abuses: it would be quite absurd to govern directly, on the part of the state, every individual as such, and yet entirely to withdraw its influence from the greater organs, the corporations, schools, universities, &c. The highest praise is undoubtedly due to the Prussian department of ecclesiastical affairs for what it has done, in conformity with the king's commands, and with the aid of his munificent grants for schools and universities. It is not by physical strength, but by intellectual energy alone, that Prussia can assume and maintain the character of a great European power. He who confounds this mental energy with licentiousness is a fool; he who, misunderstanding its spirit, would fetter it in arbitrary bonds deserves himself bonds and imprisonment.

From Cousin's work, translated by Mrs. Austin, the Prussian school system has been made more known in England, but yet not sufficiently; otherwise (to say nothing of others) so distinguished a man as Lord Brougham could scarcely have entertained such strange fantastic notions respecting it. The notion, that the interference of the government lessens and checks that of individuals is false; as England itself has proved, since grants of money have been made by parliament for the improvement of schools. But what a

mean, paltry sum is 20,000*l.* per annum for such a wealthy country as England, compared with the infinitely greater efforts of Prussia, which is so poor! And yet even that small sum did some good. It was distributed on the express condition that a sum equal to that given by the government should be raised by voluntary contributions, by which the number of promoters of schools naturally increased, instead of decreasing, as many persons had erroneously supposed. The sum granted out of the public treasury was often not more than a third of the whole sums that were quickly and laudably raised. The 'Edinburgh Review' (vol. lviii.) justly remarks, that the education of the whole body of the English nation can no longer be abandoned to chance, and left to the arbitrary arrangements of local support by private individuals. It is a mistaken notion that free competition, which is sufficient in other branches of profitable trade, will lead to the same result in this instance also. Even the radical Roebuck feels the necessity of a general central superior authority, and recommends the Prussian coercive system.

Very confused ideas prevail in England respecting this system. The person who, in the House, speaks with the greatest moderation of the difficulty of compelling parents in England to send their children to school, is Lord Althorp. O'Connell may be pardoned for knowing nothing of Prussia, rather than many Prussians who will not allow that Ireland demands, and justly deserves, the same equal treatment which the king

has long since given to his subjects of all denominations. O'Connell said,—"In Prussia the corporal is the greatest philosopher; and yet, in spite of this, the King of Prussia is the best reformer in Europe." The latter is perfectly true. With respect to the first part of the sentence, we leave O'Connell to settle the point with Kant, Fichte, Solger, Hegel, Schleiermacher, and others. I cannot understand Sir Robert Peel. He said,—"A compelled attendance on school must necessarily be combined with religious opinions: it limits religious toleration." In Prussia the attendance on school has nothing whatever to do with religious opinions; but is founded on the greatest and most general religious toleration, the salutary effects of which, Peel, as a defender of many religious restrictions, still denies.

The person who judges the Prussian institutions most dogmatically is Lord Brougham. He says (Report on the State of Education, 1834),—"It may matter little what sentiments are inculcated on all Prussian children by their *military* chiefs; but it would be something new in *this* country systematically to teach all children, from six to fourteen years of age, the doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance, the absolute excellence of its institutions, and the wickedness and iniquity of every effort to improve them." If the noble lord, in the excitement of debate and the flow of his eloquence, let such notions and words escape him, we cannot wonder; but that, when called on by a parliamentary committee to give a dispassionate, true testimony, he should

have uttered things so entirely false, nay, so utterly absurd, cannot in any way be justified, or even excused.

Sir Robert Peel compassionately intimates that our school children are tormented by theologians; and Brougham places them under the rod and cane of the corporal. That our military arrangements are a school of freedom, and for freedom, and the very antipodes of the English recruiting and flogging system, may perhaps be more unintelligible to an Englishman, than all the theological and scientific curiosities of Oxford to a German. But what have military arrangements to do with our schools? If Lord Brougham has read anything but the title-page of Cousin's work, he may and must know that all he said about the Prussian schools was entirely visionary, and could only serve to mislead those who believed him.

The doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance, so long upheld by certain parties in England, is not known in our schools, even by name; and if any professor at Oxford should venture to speak of church and state as, thank Heaven, any Prussian professor is at liberty to do, it would certainly be said—the heretic brought state and church into danger. In our schools and universities we know of no theological intolerance, no exclusion of Dissenters, no idolatry of what exists for the moment, no forced subscriptions; yet we are not by this alienated from Christianity, but hold fast to the imperishable diamond of the Gospel, without converting it into an amulet with thirty-nine points.

In Prussia, then, it would seem, the wickedness and impiety of every attempt to improve civil institutions is systematically enforced! In Prussia, which, without any boasting of journals and newspapers, silently effected the greatest reforms, and rose from a state of abject degradation, like a phœnix from it ashes,—the aversion and opposition between citizens and soldiers is abolished; the system of the defence of the country is easy, yet general and powerful; the regulations of commerce and of duties of custom, freer than in any other part of Europe; the peasants are converted into landowners; a municipal system introduced twenty-seven years ago, which England is now copying; and schools and universities placed on so firm a basis, that the calumnies of Lord Brougham can only recoil on his own head.

From the descriptions of what is called the Prussian compulsory system, one would be inclined to believe that the children were coupled together like hounds, and driven every morning with blows to be trained! Should a parent be so wicked as not to give his children any education, and purposely keep them from school and church, the law justly gives the magistrates a right of guardianship. This remote threat may have had a salutary effect in individual cases; but I have never heard of the actual application of outward compulsion—*obtorto collo*. Morality, sense of honour, general custom, conviction of the great advantage of a careful education, suffice, among us, to excite all parents *voluntarily* to send their children to school. In perfect accordance with

our school laws it is considered as equally sinful to withhold nourishment from their minds as from their bodies. If we duly appreciate the spirit of the laws, cavils about the letter fall away; but even the letter has had a wholesome influence, and without the application of corporal constraint, in promoting the intellectual emancipation of the people.

So much in necessary defence, not by way of accusation. But to return to the schools, of which the report of a Parliamentary Committee on the State of Education (1834) gives valuable information: it is founded on the questions which were put to fifteen hundred overseers, and to which they replied, with the assistance of the clergy and the schoolmasters. Most of the schools belong to two great societies—the National, and the British and Foreign School Society. The bond which holds them together is, however, entirely dependent on their own discretion, and the similarity of certain principles which they have adopted. On the other hand, it includes neither dependence, nor superintendence, nor scientific direction, nor any form, or positive code of regulations. It may be said that they have merely the same relation to each other as the Benedictine convents in the middle ages, before the foundation of the great congregations. The main difference between the two societies is, that the National receives children of all denominations, even Jews; but the religious instruction is given wholly according to the doctrines of the Established Church. The British and Foreign Society,

on the other hand, gives no religious instruction according to the principles of any one denomination, but contents itself with reading and expounding suitable portions of the Bible. The two societies have lately become very extensive, and have encouraged and supported those who entered by little presents. But with this wholly voluntary attendance, no regular system for further extension can be prescribed or employed; neither are there any satisfactory institutions for the education of schoolmasters. The teachers sometimes receive a small salary, and sometimes have only voluntary contributions to depend on. There is very rarely any permanent endowment. The British Society, in consequence of the principle which it has adopted respecting religious instruction, receives no assistance or support from the clergy, and even for the National schools their co-operation is not legally enjoined, but is wholly voluntary, and temporary. One party, too, as I have already told you, look upon every appropriation of Church property to educational purposes as a secular misapplication. We must regard every opinion which would entirely separate these two parts of intellectual development as, at the most, anatomical or chemical, but certainly not as vital and life-giving. If we hear it affirmed that a certain number of canons are requisite in every cathedral to promote merely the scientific cultivation of theology, there ought surely to be (according to the old church regulation) one appointed to conduct the schools, and, like the heads of our seminaries, to superintend the educa-

tion of schoolmasters. But if all kinds of people spend only three, or, at the most, six months in acquiring such an education, it is obvious what an inefficient race of teachers must result from such a system.

As the number of day-schools was much too small, and the children employed for six days together in the fields and manufactories, unable to attend them, the idea of having schools on Sundays was conceived. These Sunday-schools have nearly doubled within the last fifteen years, and have certainly had a very good effect. The few hours, however, dedicated to learning, are but a poor substitute for a more comprehensive and solid school education, and though it is commendable that most of the teachers in the Sunday-schools accept no remuneration, they are, on the other hand, unpractised, and not properly trained for this profession.

I find it stated that a million and a half of children attend the Sunday-schools; but this estimate does not rest upon any accurate information, and, even were it correct, one hundred thousand Prussian children pass more hours in school than the million and a half of English children. We have also a more thorough insight into the deficiency of all these establishments, when we hear from Mr. Braidley, that, in spite of the instruction given gratis on Sunday, there are, perhaps, fifteen thousand children in Manchester alone that do not go to school. This shows us the dark side of the factory system, which, though it may spare the body, overlooks the mind. I have

already stated, in another place, why the humane law for factory children has in part remained a dead letter. Perhaps it would be possible to accomplish on Sundays what cannot be effected during the week. Mr. Braidley wishes for some compulsory means, and considers them to be practicable. Whether he is right or wrong I cannot decide; but it seems to be absurd to fear that every interference of the magistrate and the law must lead to the despotism of the ministers. They would not be able, by means of spelling, addition, multiplication, &c., to introduce a new system, reducing Great Britain to slavery. Those who relate frightful stories of these hobgoblins, do not, however, themselves believe them.

Undoubtedly much more might be done for education by means of the richly-endowed schools, if they were kept in activity by moderate superintendence, and adapted to the wants of the age. All these defects of the public establishments of education give birth to a multitude of private boarding-schools. These are, of course, still less subject to any inspection or control; keeping school is considered a free trade, which flourishes or goes to ruin according to the qualifications of the master. But arguments might surely be alleged to show why the schools should be considered in a different light from the workshop of a shoemaker or tailor, and why the proof of a certain ability or qualification is here much more necessary than in other cases. *Fiat experimentum*, say they, *in corpore vili*; but here the experiments are often made on *precious bodies and souls*, that

is, if the accusation be true, that in boarding-schools there is much corporal chastisement, and little attention to moral education. At all events, those who set up such schools, in the absence of regularly-endowed foundations, are almost compelled to consider pecuniary advantage as a principal object; and thus nearly all of them are exclusively for the children of the rich.

Still greater complaints have been made of the Gymnasia, especially of the celebrated Eton College, than of the schools. It is not my business *tantas componere lites;* I therefore add only a few words on this subject. The censure respects the small number of school hours (said to be only eleven in the week)—the tyranny which the elder scholars practise, in a scandalous manner, over the younger ones—the excessive exercise of mere memory—the constant assemblage of so many scholars in one hall, which causes interruptions, and makes it impossible for them to work and think in quiet retirement—the partial or unequal treatment of the rich and noble—the corporal punishments, till the pupils have risen into certain classes, and, above all, the limited number of the subjects taught, and the antiquated mode of teaching.

Many of these grounds of complaint have been denied, others excused, and others placed in a more favourable light; notwithstanding, the complainants persist in their accusations, and say, laws which date their origin from the year 1441 require to be essentially changed; a corporal punishment by the teachers, as well as the reci-

procal tyranny of the scholars, so far as they really take place, can certainly be of no use whatever. The limited proportion of hours devoted to instruction, the very many scholars studying together, and also the superintendence of the teachers, do not seem to accord together; and a greater number of hours of instruction, given to all together, and then unrestrained, independent study, such as our gymnasia for the most part encourage, would seem to be a better plan. With the exception of some instruction in religion and geography, it is confined almost exclusively to Greek and Latin; and for this, say their accusers, neither the best grammars, nor the best authors, are made use of, but generally only fragments, selections, and those not even according to the modern readings. Xenophon, Thucydides, Polybius, Livy, and the Greek tragedians, are not adopted; and the history of the middle ages and of later times, as well as modern languages, are not even thought of. So much the more time is thrown away upon the antiquated custom of making Latin verses, and both teacher and pupil are not a little vain of these cold, mechanical, unnatural performances. And yet how very few real philologists have the English seminaries produced during the last centuries. The great attachment which those who have been brought up at Eton continue to preserve to this institution is no proof of its excellence. Every man recurs with predilection to the days of his youth, and sometimes with the greatest fondness to what is least deserving praise.

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Without doubt the instruction given in the German gymnasia is far more comprehensive and varied than in the English, although it would be a proof that we were retrograding, were we to affirm them to be quite perfect, and without defect. They have not yet been brought into entire conformity with the wants of the age and the demands of society; and the preponderance of that school of philology which lays the chief stress on the letter, is certainly not likely to have an advantageous influence on a German education in the nineteenth century. Many teachers, on the other hand, who would penetrate deeply into the spirit of antiquity, not unfrequently degenerate into exclusive admiration of it—are ignorant of the progressive development of the world—would, in their folly, mould church and state after the institutions of Athens or Sparta, and implant in the minds of their youthful scholars an indifference to present reality, and the existing order of things; a course which is attended with very pernicious consequences.

Nobody can approve less than I do the attacks made, in various quarters, on antiquity and our classical school education. Such persons would willingly have theological treatises read in the schools, instead of Homer, and the regulations for the police, instead of Tacitus. But, on the other hand, if we would reduce these attacks to their own absurdity, and make them fall harmless to the ground, many persons must renounce their arrogance, as if they were born to be the leaders of the world, because they correct the

errata in the immortal works of those great masters. He who admires only Greece and Rome, or only the middle ages, or modern times, is but half qualified for the education of youth, for understanding public affairs, and for managing the affairs of life. We cannot be either Indians or Egyptians, either Greeks or Romans: the study of their works is by no means designed to place us in a false position with respect to the claims and the objects of our own times. Herodotus was the more of a Greek because he was acquainted with Egypt; the Romans acquired from the Greeks a clearer view of their own nature and destination; Dante, led by Virgil, remained a Ghibelline of the thirteenth century; Petrarch returned to Italy from Africa and the Scipios (*Italia mia, benche il parlare sia indarno!)*; Camoens, in India, celebrated the triumphs of his native land; and in proportion as the spirit of Demosthenes inspired him, Burke felt and understood his duty as a Briton.

The school is not instituted to impose a narrow-minded patriotism, but still less to inspire a superficial cosmopolitism, which busies itself with everything in the world, rather than with its own undervalued home, or with the nature, the history, and the institutions of its own country. Had Lord Brougham known anything of the nature and internal regulations of our schools, he would rather have taken the opportunity of giving a friendly warning on this head, instead of a rude reproof.

From the facts which have been stated or

alluded to, we may, I think, deduce the following results, or, at least, set up the following theses for further disputation:—

1. It has had an injurious effect, that the government and the legislature do not pay any regard to schools, but leave everything to a voluntary system, which has been so zealously opposed (and with justice), when an attempt was made to apply it to the church.

2. Neither the number of schools, nor the subjects of instruction, are adapted to the wants of the present times.

3. There is an immense fund, derived from past times, and destined for schools, but it has by no means been always applied in the most judicious manner.

4. It is the duty of the state and the church to take care of the schools, though the mode of proceeding may differ, according to the character of the people, and the progress of civilization.

The Scotch, with proportionably inferior means, have effected more than the English. Every village has its own school, which is more numerously and generally attended; almost all the inhabitants learn to read, and most of them to write. The schoolmasters are chosen by the landowners and clergy, after previous examination, and receive, in addition to a fixed salary, from one shilling and sixpence to two shillings per quarter for each child. ('Report on Agriculture,' p. 130.) Opposed to these agreeable testimonies, I find complaints, especially on the part of those who are averse to self-complacent indolence, and

would urge other improvements. (Hansard, vol. xxiv. p. 514.) The schools, they affirm, are scarcely sufficient in the country, and still less in the towns, in consequence of the increase of the population. Thus, in Glasgow, perhaps only one-fourteenth, in Perth, one-fifteenth, and in Aberdeen, one-twenty-fifth of the children go to school; and of the five hundred thousand Highlanders, there are, perhaps, eighty-three thousand who cannot read, and two hundred and fifty thousand who cannot write. There is also a want of institutions of a middle class, preparatory for the university; and as the village-school is not sufficient for this purpose, the university itself improperly sinks to the rank of a school. The scholars go to the university when they are only fourteen or fifteen years old, are there prematurely left to themselves, and oblige the teachers to treat many subjects in a manner adapted only to the school. There is everywhere a want of superintendence and control; the number of hours of attendance is much too small, and the vacations take up six months of the year.

The Scotch universities certainly resemble the German more than the English do; on the whole, however, the preparation of the youth of our country in the gymnasia is far more solid and comprehensive; and, on an average, our students when left to themselves are three or four years older than the Scotch. Those who would foolishly shorten the vacations in the German universities (especially to prevent revolutionary intrigues) would be frightened at the Scotch

vacations, which are twice as long; and I also, though for other reasons, must say that I disapprove it.

The appointment to offices in the Scotch universities is made by the city magistrates, or by the professors, or by the crown, as the founder of the institution. Each of these modes of appointment is liable to some objections. The magistrates cannot be supposed to be qualified to decide on the merits of the professors—the body of professors has other motives for partiality, and a certain tendency may be imposed by superior authority, from abstract, partial views. I consider it to be the best to have the opinion of the professors on every appointment, but to place the decision in the hands of a distinct authority. The shame of proposing improper persons, and rejecting others qualified for the office, will, it may be hoped, remove the defects from which every external form is not wholly exempt. Our department of ecclesiastical affairs and public instruction has certainly taken a much more liberal position, and exercised a far more impartial, more Christian and scientific influence on our universities, than the English church on Oxford and Cambridge. The Scotch universities are not to be considered as ecclesiastical institutions, and are not so dependent on the Presbyterianism of that country, as the English universities on their church. But as no examination and change of the statutes had taken place in Scotland for one hundred and thirty years, it was natural that the commissioners appointed in

1831 should in their report find many things deserving of blame. But when they say it is doubtful whether it is necessary to teach history in the universities, their own revisal may itself need correction, and Lord Brougham's attack might be properly diverted from the governments of the continent, and the proper place be pointed out to him for his vehement complaints of the want of instruction in history.

The fee for a course of lectures rises from two guineas to four guineas, and the income of the professors is from 113*l.* to 2213*l.* That this last highest income is the lot of the Professor of Chemistry, while a Professor of History is declared to be superfluous, is a characteristic sign of the times. On the whole, the lists of lectures in the Scotch universities are far less ample and various than those of Germany; and, on the other hand, many complaints made there are also applicable to us: for instance, that the effect of all the instruction in the university is not so great as it ought to be; that the students are indifferent to certain branches of science; that the certificates of the attendance on lectures generally prove nothing; that degrees are too precipitately conferred, &c.

The partiality, nay the cruelty, of the ruling English Protestants to the conquered Catholic Irish is manifested, as in everything else, in what relates to education. By a law of William III., Protestant education alone was tolerated; a Catholic who kept a school was liable to a fine of 20*l.* or three months' imprisonment. Thus all

public instruction for the Catholics ceased, ignorance and barbarism flourished, and the object of making converts to Protestantism completely failed. Since that time much has been changed for the better; yet how much partiality and intolerance, how many subordinate objects, are still upheld, even in our times, under the pretext of Christianity, with reference to churches and schools! In the year 1828, there were in Ireland about 92,000 scholars belonging to the Established Church, 45,000 to the Presbyterians, and 408,000 to the Roman Catholics. Eight-elevenths of the schools had been undertaken by private persons, without the interference of the church or state, and must necessarily demand a suitable remuneration for the instruction given. Three-fifths of the scholars were boys, and two-fifths girls. Since the government has made grants to support the schools their zeal has increased. There were applications from members of the Established Church, for 12 schools; from members of the Established Church and Presbyterians, for 2; from members of the Established Church, Presbyterians, and Roman Catholics, for 104; from Presbyterians and Catholics, for 7; from Presbyterians alone, for 34; from Presbyterians and Catholics, for 93; and from Catholics alone, for 537 schools.

Hence we see not only the very great want of schools, but also the goodwill and Christian concord and tolerance which prevail.

The last Report on Public Instruction in Ireland furnishes the following general results:—

There belong to the Established Church 852,000 members, about 10 per cent. of the population; Presbyterians, 642,000, about 8 per cent.; other Dissenters, 21,000; Roman Catholics, 6,427,000, about 80 per cent. of the population.

The Established Church has 196 places for religious meetings and 1338 churches; the Presbyterians, 452 churches; other Dissenters, 403; the Roman Catholics, 2105.

In 539 places there is no parsonage-house; in 839 places there is no resident clergyman; and 157 places have no divine worship at all.

There appertain to the Established Church—

Livings.	Number of the Congregation.
41	with Not any.
99	.. 1 to 20
124	.. 20 .. 50
160	.. 50 .. 100
224	.. 100 .. 200
286	.. 200 .. 500
209	.. 500 .. 1000
139	.. 1000 .. 2000
91	.. 2000 .. 5000
12	.. above 5000

There is matter enough in these few figures for instructive observation and salutary resolves; and there have been long debates in Parliament, for many days and nights, on this subject. I confess (and why should I deny it?) that it gives me but little pleasure; I miss the elevated style of generous bold sincerity, and often find, or feel incompleteness, secondary views, and subordinate objects. Some things, though insignificant, are

ostentatiously put forward; and others, though important, are passed over. Every one is afraid of pronouncing the right word; every one endeavours to get something out of his adversary, which may bring the small majority to this or that side. Like Phædra to Œnome, they would then cry out to him who spoke the truth, "Thou saidst it; not I." And yet every unprejudiced person knew the truth long before.

The commutation of tithes and the application of the revenues of the church, says one party, are different, and ought to be separated, for a more easy arrangement, and legislation, and each of these subjects should be treated distinctly. No one would object to these and similar arguments for the management of affairs, if they contained the truth, and the whole truth. But the main object of this party, which it does not avow, is,—to quiet the people's minds by a tithe-law, and thus to secure the ancient ecclesiastical arrangements; or, after the removal of that crying evil, to obtain a majority of votes for the rejection of the second part of the law, when brought in separately. On the other hand, the opposite party well knows what may be said, on the score of form and mode of proceeding, against the union of the two halves; and knows also that this union is the only means to get at and overcome the other abuses.

In the same manner, there is a want of sincerity in the discussion of the question on the surplus of the church revenue. The ministerial party represent it as large as possible, in order to gain votes in favour of a new mode of appropriating it; the

opposition, on the other hand, deny that there is any surplus, in order to prevent strict investigation. But, if it is so certain that there is *no* surplus, why do they contend against investigation?—why do they at once represent it as useless? They ought rather to require and encourage it, in order to make their victory the more secure. Instead, however, of entering into the main questions, they find fault with some figures, and prove, what is a matter of course, that there are many mistakes. But what is a surplus, and what is necessary? If a bishop receives annually 1000*l.* or 14,000*l.*; if a parish priest receives 20*l.* or 200*l.*; according as I assume, arbitrarily, the one or the other statement, I come to very different conclusions. Surely many things must be defective, when some clergymen receive enormous incomes, while others starve; when 535 places have no parsonage-houses; when 339 places have no resident clergymen; when many rectors have no congregations, and congregations no pastor.

The ministry is entirely in the right path when it desires to remedy these crying abuses, whatever objections may be made to some of its proposals; but the ministry does not venture to tell the *whole* truth. It pertinaciously maintains the existence of a surplus, because it will not propose any other source of revenue, or point out any other means of support. Now, it must be granted that the supposed surplus may be greatly reduced, nay, perhaps wholly absorbed, by a more equal distribution among the Protestant clergy. But shall nothing more be done? Shall no regard be

had to the Roman Catholic Church, which, in comparison with the Protestant, is extremely poor? Shall it, after having been entirely stripped, be referred to the voluntary system, which is justly considered as ruinous to the English Church? The property of the Protestant Church and schools, and the established application of it, are, in the eyes of one party, inviolable and sacred; nay, the two parts are so arbitrarily separated and opposed, that the school, in a bad sense, is excluded as secular, and the holder of a living as inviolate, though he may have no church and no parishioners. Many have argued themselves into such a confusion of principles, calculations, assertions, and denials—have aimed at all objects, and talked of all things, only not of true religion and genuine Christianity. Sons, brothers, cousins, church livings, money, ministerial places, inspire too many orators, and *not* the highest command—charity and toleration. Now that Great Britain and Ireland have become one state, and that, politically speaking, all opposition between Catholics and Protestants is removed, provision ought to be made for the church and schools of the former. Prussia has not only asserted this principle, but carried it into execution: hence there is peace and harmony among the adherents of all religious principles, and equal love for the king, the government, and the country.

LETTER LVIII.

Post-office Regulations—Jews—Money—Bank of England—Hampton Court—Raphael's Cartoons—Ancient and Modern Art—The Beautiful and the Disagreeable—Religion and the Fine Arts—British Museum—Greek Sculptures—Their Perfect Harmony—Italian Opera—Mrs. Austin—Departure from London.

London, 26th July, 1835.

The most zealous advocate of the olden time must acknowledge the improvement of Great Britain, when he is going (as I am now) to travel through the country. Two or three centuries ago, it would have taken forty weeks to visit the places which I shall see in forty days; in which I do not include the time I may stay at any place, but merely the slowness or rapidity of travelling, and of the means of reaching certain places in a short time, and in an agreeable manner.

The first attempt to establish a post for letters was made in the reign of Charles I., in the year 1635, but it failed, on account of the civil wars. There has been a post-office since 1657, though the first rude beginning gave no presage of the extent which it was one day to acquire; for the number of letters now sent every week from London is estimated at 40,000.

The postage of a single letter is—

		s.	*d.*
For	15 English miles	0	4
	30 „	0	5
	300 „	1	0
	600 „	1	3

The increase of the rate is, therefore, smaller in proportion, for long than for short distances, not to deter people entirely from writing, or at least not to make it too expensive. The postage on a letter from London to Prussia is 1*s.* 8*d.*

The gross receipts of the post-offices in 1832 were—

London	£628,000
Birmingham . . .	28,000
Bristol	33,000
Liverpool	70,000
Manchester . . .	52,000
Sheffield	11,000
Edinburgh . . .	42,000
Glasgow	35,000
Dublin	101,000
Leeds	20,000

The roads have improved at the same time as the post-office regulations, especially since certain sums have been levied for this object. To promote the making of roads in many parts of Scotland, the government granted half the expense, as soon as the landowners engaged to defray the other half, which has been of the greatest advantage to the cultivation of the country.

London, 26th July, 1835.

I was interrupted yesterday, and could not return to my usual course. At length, however, the interruption was very agreeable, and I had a long discussion with Mr. ——— about the state of the Jews in England. He was very glad that a Jew had lately been elected an alderman of the city of London, which was the first instance of the kind. I believe that the indelible character of the Jews, which has been as often a subject of praise as of blame, will vanish sooner than is believed, when the legal and civil regulations, which draw so strict a line, shall be abolished. England might, in this respect, advance more rapidly than other countries, for two important reasons: first, because the number of Jews here is, in proportion, much smaller than in most of the continental states; secondly, because the immigration by sea is attended with great difficulties; whereas, for instance, the immigration of Russian and Polish Jews into the Prussian states is but too easy. On the 17th April, 1833, Mr. Grant brought forward a motion in the House of Commons to emancipate the Jews, or to place them nearly on the same footing as the Catholics; and on the 23rd July his proposals were adopted, in their essential parts, by a majority of one hundred and eighty-nine to fifty-two. But the House of Lords rejected the bill by a majority of one hundred and four to fifty-four. Among other speakers, the Archbishop of Canterbury said, that he readily acknowledged all the good qualities of the Jews, but he thought it impossible to admit persons to

a share in the legislation of a Christian state, so long as they declared Christ to be an impostor. The Archbishop of Dublin, on the contrary, voted for the bill, observing, that after such an emancipation of the Jews, it would depend entirely on the choice of the Christians whether they should have any share in public affairs or not. The smallness of their number does away with all fear of excessive influence; and if they, being in part rich people, bear a great share of the public burthens, it is equitable to give them rights in return. Any apprehensions that might be entertained for the church might be removed by special enactments, though the Jews are hardly more hostile to the church than Dissenters and Catholics, who have a share in the legislation. Besides, the Jews have no inclination to make proselytes, whereas their conversion to Christianity will certainly be facilitated by the proposed measure. Other members said, Deists and Atheists sit in Parliament, and the Jews can judge Christians as jurymen, or purchase votes, and send members to Parliament. Whatever opinion may be entertained on the subject, I should be inclined to say that, to place the Jews and Christians on an equality in England would be premature, so long as the conservative party was able to hinder the establishment of perfect equality between the Christians.

It would be an easy transition from the Jews to the theory of money, though I am not aware that the Christians are less fond of it than the Jews. Should this, however, be really the case,

the reason of it is essentially in the legislation, which has long excluded the Jews from every other laudable pursuit, and left only the acquisition of property as the sole object of life. When I lately told a rich Christian merchant, in a few words, what I had done in the State-Paper Office, he said—'Now pray tell me, honestly, whether there is, on the whole continent, a single person who cares for this old stuff?' 'When I return,' I replied, 'I hope I shall find at least one person who has this extraordinary taste.' I ought, therefore, to leave it to Jewish and Christian capitalists to speak of what they understand better than I do; but the currency and banking system is here, as it is in fact everywhere, an affair which, in the end, affects every body, and of which every one attempts to judge in his own way: permit me, therefore, to do the same.

It is very engaging to inquire, by the aid of history, into the progress, from the barter of single objects, to a fixed and certain standard, to a metallic currency. The bank circulation afforded facilities for shortening the business of making payments, and for saving in the wear of the coin. To enlarge the circle, banks of deposit, and paper currency were introduced. A state which thinks that it can increase the paper currency, so long as there is any object as a security for the assignat or bank-note, is certainly in the way to unbounded confusion in the finances, and to the overthrow of all the relations of property; a state which believes that it can at once convert paper into gold is foolish at the outset: and yet, have not several of

our political doctors thought that it was mere perverseness of the government not to make the bankrupt landowners suddenly rich by a provincial paper currency?—have not others thought that the debts of the state might be paid off, without difficulty, in an hour's time, by the issue of a new paper currency?

But setting aside these absurd fancies, more difficult questions yet remain. For instance, whether, after the long suspension of payments in gold by the Bank of England, the return to the old system, so long announced, and at length accomplished, had a salutary or a ruinous effect? It is certain that no state can, without injury, entirely separate its mode of payment, for a long period, from the metallic currency, and it is equally certain that no flourishing commerce can be carried on, in its full extent, exclusively in specie. The new British law combines both laws, by making bank notes a legal tender, only not by the bank itself. The transition from the system of the entire dispensing with specie to an increased use of it, was attended with difficulties, and the diminished produce of the American mines coinciding with the increased demand in England, caused a change of prices, with great loss to many persons. The crisis was, however, inevitable, and had by no means so great an effect as in most of the continental states. It would be a great mistake to deduce the lower or higher prices of corn, manufactures, wages, &c., only from the dearness or cheapness of gold or silver. Nay, in point of fact, the quantity of the current coin is of

less importance than the rapidity of its circulation, and the art of settling affairs without money, namely, by counter accounts. The whole year would not suffice to reckon up in shillings the reciprocal claims which are established or effaced on the London Exchange by a few strokes of the pen.

The notion that metal is a thing of special, infinitely greater value than all other things in the world; that it is the object of legislation to procure an abundance of it, by what is called an advantageous balance of trade,—this notion has been sufficiently refuted in theory; and science, resting on this point of Archimedes, will, it may be hoped, succeed in dethroning the practically absurd prohibitive system. The measure (yards or ells, much or little money) is easily to be found as soon as there is much to be measured. Coin is only the expression of the agreement, not the payment itself; on the contrary, the objects of value are in the background, and must far, far exceed the quantity of the metal, in order to produce real activity in trade and commerce. In the long run, it is the same whether we measure by the yard or the ell; and in the rising or falling of the precious metals, those classes are the principal gainers or losers for whom the metals are not so much the measure as the object of their traffic. He who has no money, and no other articles, is always very badly off; he who possesses both finds a compensation in the double change of the value of measure and the thing measured; he who possesses only one of the two

generally rejoices in silence at an advantageous change, and vents his complaints aloud when the change is to his disadvantage. Merely arithmetical considerations of figures and prices are not enough to enable us to discern and to estimate the true relations of social intercourse.

It is by no means my intention to give you even an abridgment of the history of the Bank of England, or an account of its mode of transacting business. I mean only to contradict the notion of its being unsafe, through its connexion with the government; whereas, from this point of view, which is perfectly correct for England, its safety is confirmed. It is equally erroneous to suppose that the bank issues at discretion as many notes as it pleases; on the contrary, the mass of bank-notes in circulation is always in exact and due proportion to the real wants and to perfect security. This, however, can by no means be affirmed of all the country banks. In the years 1814 to 1816, for instance, a great number of them in different parts of England failed, partly, perhaps, in consequence of unfortunate unforeseen events, but principally in consequence of imprudent conduct. Though the legislation on this subject has been improved, persons versed in the subject affirm that much more might, and ought to be done for the security of the public. The Scotch country banks, by more prudent regulations and stricter statutes, have happily stood their ground, even in times of serious commercial distress. In Scotland, every proprietor in a bank

is answerable with his whole property; whereas the English law leaves a possibility to withhold the greater part of it from the creditors.

Up to the year 1759, there were no bank-notes in England of a less value than 20*l.*; in 1793 the first 5*l.* notes, and in 1797 the first 2*l.* notes were issued. Since 1821 none have been issued under 5*l.*; while in Scotland they are as low as 2*l.* The Bank of England allows no interest for deposits: the Bank of Scotland, from 2 to 2½ per cent. The savings-banks pay, for the most part, from 3 to 4 per cent., and limit the sum to be deposited in one year, by one person, to 30*l.*; and the whole capital to be deposited by one person to be 150*l.* These rules are, if not injurious, yet undoubtedly easy to be evaded, if it should appear advantageous to invest large sums in this manner. If you are curious to know why the Scotch banking system is declared by competent judges to be better than the English, you may read their works. I have already ventured to speak too long of these things.

London, 27th July, 1835.

On one of the finest days of July, I accompanied my friend Mr. Waagen to Hampton Court; the road to which lay through a cheerful, highly-cultivated country, enlivened with a gay variety of houses, villas, meadows, trees and flowers. The palace, though not poetic and fantastic like Windsor, is, both in its internal and external appearance, more striking than Buckingham House. In the famous Cartoons of Raphael, this palace

contains a treasure equalled only by the Stanze of the Vatican. We had the choice between attending divine service, or being locked up for some hours in this sanctuary, and preferred the latter: the longer we stayed, the more deeply we became impressed with the life and animation of every form. After the lapse of three centuries, after the most barbarous treatment, and placed in an extremely unfavourable light, they still remain seven chefs-d'œuvre of the world. It is inconceivable how this master could have thought, felt, and executed so much during his short life. A few days since, I was dining with the celebrated sculptor, Mr. Campbell, when a gentleman of the party wished to prove that education alone made a man what he was, and that the same education would always produce similar results. It is certainly very foolish and reprehensible, when men do not all that lies in their power for their fellow-men, or if education be neglected; but we have still to find out the method, or rather, we never shall find it out, by which we can create out of nothing. That is the work of Omnipotence alone; his breath animates, (*numine afflatur*), him we recognise in the sublime works of Raphael, Shakspeare, Phidias, and other kindred spirits. Education may expel the ignoble part, raise the mind to a medium elevation, and give it a certain degree of firmness and consistency: it can form men after its image, that is to say, after the image of the schoolmaster, but *non ex quovis ligno fit Mercurius.*

When I read the history of the creation, and

see what God performed in each day of the week, and how all moves and expands, how all that is created labours in its contracted sphere of life, till it again falls a prey to death; when I so consider the creation in its manifold changes, I would call all this the content of the working days; but on the day when God, as the scripture says, rested, some single points of light seem to me to detach themselves from the eternal unbounded fountain of his spirit, in order, in contradistinction to that gigantic reality, to manifest with still greater, overwhelming omnipotence the doctrine of mind.

Homer, Sophocles, Plato, Raphael, Michael Angelo, and Cervantes, these are the "Sunday children of God*." Perhaps the great martyrs of the church, of the state, and of science, who endeavoured to reconcile reality and spirituality, set themselves the greater, the more difficult problem; but as God alone is able fully to solve it, as its bearing is twofold, as its light comes from two sides, these men are always judged and understood differently, extolled or blamed: thus Aristotle, Demosthenes, Alexander the Great, Gregory VII., Luther, and similar minds. Those Sunday children had only a Sunday life; on the shoulders of the latter, too, rests the burden of earthly days of work. It is chiefly for the other millions of creatures of

* The Germans give the name of Sunday child (*Sontags kind*) to one born on a Sunday, and particularly on one of those which they call "golden Sundays," i. e., the quatember days. Such a child, in the opinion of the superstitious, is able to discern spirits, and is destined to be peculiarly happy. Even with this explanation, the passage seems obscure.—*Translator's note.*

reality, that the celebration of Sunday was instituted, in order that the promised land of the spirit may at least be shown to them at a distance, and their sensual self-sufficiency be diminished.

As the clock struck, several hundreds of persons crowded into the hall of the Cartoons, but they hurried past without attending to them, or at most cast a glance at the new engravings, which do not express the character of the works half so correctly, as the old ones, which hung in our room—in particular, instead of the harmony of light and shade, a harsh false contrast is introduced. As a painting, the Draught of Fishes seems the most perfect; the figures and the landscape are equally admirable. But it is probable that barbarous hands have cut off a piece on each side, because the picture was too large to fit the place over the chimney. They all hang too high; and, for some incomprehensible reason, the upper round windows in this apartment are walled up, so that the only clear light is reflected upwards, from the pavement of the court-yard.

A religion which (like the Indian) buries all sense of beauty under distorted symbols, or (like Mahommedanism, and over-strained Puritanism) will not allow anything spiritual to be explained and illustrated by the visible form, are both in error. On the other hand, the idea and the essence of religion are not comprised in beauty alone, for then the Greeks would be the best teachers of religion.

The comic is a natural and commendable con-

trast to the tragic, and in this respect the Flemish painters stand so high; but I cannot be persuaded that, in the domain of art, what is absolutely ugly is necessary, as a contrast to beauty, or indispensable to make it fully perceptible. Hence I dislike all martyrdoms (that is, the representation of bodily sufferings); but few crucifixions appear to me tolerable, and even the cripples, beggars and demoniacs in the pictures of Raphael, the most amiable of all painters, are for the most part offensive to me. I am obliged to call in the aid of my understanding to calm my immediate feeling, and it is a question whether the understanding should here act as the director of the feelings, or whether the feelings are not better qualified to lighten the abstract understanding, and bring it back, from the devious path of mere reflection, to simple beauty.

Once only, in the history of the world, a whole people, as it seems, knew, recognised, and felt what beauty is—called it forth by some magic power, in every form, and separated it from all heterogeneous and incongruous parts. In other periods, which were favourable to art, only some gifted minds penetrated into the realms of beauty, while the majority beheld their labours more with astonishment, than as being themselves initiated; nay, those masters themselves did not rule in perfect liberty, but were fettered by the demands of the ignorant, or by want of beauty in the subjects which they treated.

The British Museum possesses, in the Attic bas-reliefs, the works from Phigalia and from the

Parthenon, and other masterpieces, a treasure of the noblest productions of Greek sculpture, which, in some respects, exceeds even the Vatican, and is certainly not surpassed by any other collection in the world. When I contemplate the sepulchral monuments, the combats of the Centaurs, Lapithæ, Amazons, &c., where terror, pain, and death constantly recur in the most various forms, why does not the whole, or the several parts, make the least unpleasant impression? Why do the eye, the heart, and the head remain in constant harmony? Because statuary had risen to the same elevation which Aristotle recognised in the Greek tragedy. In Sophocles the most dreadful is softened—even the death of Œdipus at Colonnæ is but a gentle departure, and the grief of Hercules is ennobled by his divine nature. So every Greek, every Amazon, in victory as in death, always remains dignified and beautiful. The joy is never savage or barbarous; pain never distorted and brutish, and even in death I recognise a consoling transition to a happier state. Compared with these sublime productions of Greek art, the Roman is not merely technically imperfect, but embued with a rudeness of feeling which it is impossible to mistake; and the great German and Italian school of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries appears, it is true, internally impelled by Christianity towards the noblest goal of humanity and of art, but it has, I should say, unsuitably introduced the doctrine of election even into these regions. To the beautiful forms pardoned by God, are opposed

the ugly bodies of the non-elect; to the healthy, the sick; to the blessed, the damned. In theology, in philosophy, in history, this dark side of existence may be employed at pleasure, but when it appears in art I feel hurt and uncomfortable.

This *caput mortuum* may be wholly separated; it should evaporate and become invisible: not till this is accomplished can we place Christian art above Greek art, as the Christian religion above the Greek religion. A great confusion of ideas still prevails, in considering and judging of these things. How often have modern works of art been praised in reference to the doctrine, and ancient works reprobated for similar reasons. But the demoniac is not a suitable subject for art, merely because he is mentioned in the Bible; or a Venus a subject to be rejected, because the worship of the goddess has ceased.

Music, without discord, is unmeaning and tedious, and painting and sculpture likewise need such discords. But every musical discord is necessarily resolved, according to the rules of art; while painters and sculptors often leave their dissonances unresolved, and eternized in stone. In every discord I feel its transition into euphony; it is but a motion, a creation of harmony; but no musician would ever think of affirming, that to sing out of tune is ever permitted, much less that it is necessary in his art. The combats of the Centaurs and Lapithæ display a chain of discords, which originate, advance, and develop themselves—one could set them to music without violating the rules and euphony of the science.

But were we to attempt a similar musical transposition with many celebrated statues, we should break all the strings of the instrument by the violence of the effort.

I ought to say a few words of the favourite and much-extolled Italian Opera. Yet, wherefore? It is a hot-house plant, altogether alien to the English soil, and merely serves to prove that the English are very rich, and can purchase and command what they please. Thus they pay exorbitantly, and listen throughout the whole year to two or three operas, by the newest undramatic composers of Italy, which the singers improve upon, to the general astonishment; and yet this degenerate style is to *real* music and *real* song, what the Zuccheri are to Raphael and Michael Angelo. The appoggiature, shakes, double shakes, and roulades of the Italians in the house, are translated, by the girls in the lobbies, into English. I scarcely know where I am to look for art or the absence of it, for what is serious or what is parody, for original or copy: if the one did not belong to the other, were not the prelude or the afterpiece to the other, why should they be found so constantly together and tolerated, in a country where it is considered sinful to sing a note on a Sunday, or to dance with a modest girl in respectable company. But I break off, that I may not unite against me powers otherwise at variance, and be roughly handled in a conflict with a superior force.

You have so often heard the Tower and the Colosseum described, that I need not allude to

them. The Panorama of London in the latter is excellent; yet Satan would scarcely have chosen this spot, and this view over countless roofs, had he desired to divert us from heaven by the beauty of earth. Mount Rigi, and the convent of the Camaldulensians at Naples—these are the most glorious spots in the world, but where Satan cannot reign, because the indescribable beauty and sublimity of the scene are intimately connected with the sacred and divine.

The Tower, that great scaffold of bygone ages, how mild and humane does it appear! Its former laws, engraven with the sword, now very politely inform the stranger, that there is no design of taking his life, but merely his shillings.

London, 29th July, 1835.

I am so occupied with my departure, which is fixed for the day after to-morrow, that I can scarcely collect my thoughts to write anything down.

Mr. P—t—r has most obligingly given me all the necessary information for my journey, and my packet of letters of introduction which I have received from various parties has grown so large, that I shall scarcely be able to deliver and profit by all during my short trip.

I called yesterday on Mrs. Austin. I may congratulate myself that she has consented to translate my letters on England. For my own sake, I requested her to alter and omit whatever she might think necessary in my letters. Many things in my book will appear dry to her, yet I

have the vanity to hope that I shall sometimes coincide with her in thoughts and feelings. Should I be deceived in this, she may either leave out this expression, or correct me in an explanatory note.

London, 29th July, 1835.

I start to-morrow morning at half-past six, and shall reach Nottingham in thirteen hours. For this journey of one hundred and twenty-four miles I am to pay eighteen shillings, and including fees, I suppose, about twenty-one shillings. The outside fare, therefore, is cheaper, and the inside dearer, than in Germany; but at all events, travelling is here much more rapid.

LETTER LIX.

Eulogium on Englishmen—Stage-Coach—Journey to Nottingham—Character of the Scenery—The Mob in Nottingham—Attempt on Louis-Philip—Character of the French—Their Legislation—Wakefield—Cotton Factory—Sheffield—Leeds—Selby—York—Ripon.

Ripon, Sunday, 2nd August.

I CANNOT take it for granted, that in Häringsdorf, a remote watering-place, you can already be provided, by Häring's exertions, with maps; though the author of 'Walladmor' and of the 'Castle of Avalon' ought, above all things, to hang up a map of England in his new residence. I will therefore conduct you, as well as I can, though by a very roundabout way, to Ripon, in the western part of the county of York.

The last few days in London were, of course, so fully taken up with other matters, that study was out of the question, and I had not even time to pay the most necessary visits. As I have neither leisure nor composure to enter into general observations on London, I will mention only *one* point, in which I am personally concerned. While many complain of the unsociableness of the English, I have the greatest reason to extol their obligingness and readiness to do service. Much, as I have already observed, depends on recommendation, but certainly not all; for some persons, to whom I had no recommendation what-

ever, showed me almost more attention than any others.

Mr. T., for example, brought me several letters late in the evening prior to my departure; Mr. P——r made the necessary arrangements for me at the coach-office, gave me several most useful little maps, and drew up for me a whole sheet full of minute directions for my journey, and came to the coach-office at six o'clock in the morning, to see that no wrong was done me as a stranger. I could adduce many such examples, and ask—Where shall we find people so ready to oblige?

But as a painting without shadow is defective, and as I see a kind of injustice to the Germans in this unrestricted praise, I will confess that I have met with exceptions.

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With B. R. the case is rather different. When a man, who has transacted business with him to the amount of millions, recommends any body, it is not the person himself who is recommended that claims attention, but mercantile prudence prescribes that he should not be wholly overlooked, and that letters and cards repeatedly left should not be thrown into a corner. I the less expected this, as I have found another branch of the same family in P—— equally obliging and amiable. However, the vast number of persons daily recommended to such a man, the total difference of our pursuits, and many other circumstances, excuse an accidental neglect, or give a right to reject the multitude of such claims.

But if I myself neutralize, on equitable consi-

derations, the exceptions which I promised to allege, the rule of the universal kindness and obligingness of the English remains untouched. I will therefore, in the third example, state a complaint, without attempting any justification. I was desirous, above all things, of becoming acquainted with L. Br———, and with this view obtained letters of introduction from a celebrated diplomatist, and from a man known and respected in all parts of the world, and I know that the latter had spoken of me in too favourable a manner; but letters and whole batteries of calls and cards had no effect whatever.

You exclaim—Where is the account of your journey? Have I promised to give you one? Besides, if I mention to you the towns through which I passed, cannot you read in Spicker's Travels a more complete account of everything remarkable than I can possibly give you? I will therefore commence with some general observations, which, however, are derived from repeated experience. I now proceed to the manner and the inconveniences of the mode of travelling.

Outside and inside, subject and object—these great opposites are rendered more striking, and are more felt by the English mode of travelling with the stage, than by any other in Europe. It seems that the outside is preferred, as is fitting in a commercial country; nay, even females do not hesitate to ascend the ladder, and take their seats on the outside, at the risk of very awkward exposure. A connoisseur may perhaps think this to be the most agreeable part of the mode of

travelling. Many Englishmen know how to allege abundance of arguments in favour, not only of the light side, but also of the dark side, just as they do for sinecures, rotten boroughs, corn-laws, prohibitory laws, protecting duties, slavery, exclusion of the Dissenters from the universities, &c. *Because* they have excellent roads, and the best horses, and travel with the greatest rapidity, therefore, their stage-coaches are also the best built, and the most convenient; the two things are necessarily connected, and the one is the natural consequence of the other. *Because* there were corn-laws, and sinecures, and rotten boroughs, therefore England has become great, &c. If we consider this method of combining cause and effect, we might (without being disposed to scepticism) at length deny with Hume the whole law of causality. To all theories, *à priori*, on the outside of the stage-coach, I oppose the bitter experience, *à posteriori*, on which account a travelling cushion is, in England, a most indispensable article. The *tabula rasa* of the wooden seat is not alone incapable of any impression, but is so far disposed to the fashionable geological theory of elevation, as the iron bands and nails project from it, and produce a philosophical connexion between outside and back-side, which may be explained on Locke's system, but rather requires stoic resignation than affords epicurean pleasure. In the corner seats you are actually in danger, and have, therefore, a natural inclination, nay, almost a right, to lean upon the person who has prudently chosen the centre place. You may also think yourself lucky

when you can lean or rest on the sharp edge of a trunk; but as soon as my back began to ache in consequence, I fancied myself again in the days of my youth, and of the barbarous Prussian post-waggons, when I was also glad to find some trunk to lean upon. At a very small expense, and with a very trifling increase of weight, all this might be remedied, and will be remedied in England one day. The new Prussian stage-coaches are certainly preferable to those in England, while, on the other hand, the rapidity boasted of in Prussia is far inferior to that of the English coaches. Horses and roads cannot be all at once improved by an ordinance, but the delay at every stage is an abominable abuse among us, and ought to be remedied. Why do the English take hardly two minutes to change horses, and the Prussians at least five times as much? It is only the ennui, hence arising, that drives the travellers to have recourse to coffee, beer, brandy, sausages, and such other palliatives. If in England the greatest praise is due to the beautiful horses, the elegant harness, the smooth roads, the rapid progress; in Prussia, to the security of the seat, which is taken and numbered, and to the coaches; what, it may be asked, is the best in France? Without all doubt the bill of fare. A Frenchman, educated in the art of eating, would surely have been horrified, if nothing were set before him for his dinner but roast mutton at the top of the table, and boiled lamb at the bottom. In France eating and drinking has become a refined enjoyment, ennobled by art. Nay, they

sometimes appear to travel solely for the pleasure of eating, and sharpening their appetite.

On the 30th of July I travelled, in one day, 124 English miles to Nottingham, on the 31st to Wakefield, on the 1st of August, to this town. The character of the whole country is, by no means so picturesque, fantastic, or sublime, as many parts of Germany, Switzerland, and Italy, but in the highest degree agreeable, and, in some parts, diversified. Everywhere are proofs of the highest cultivation, and of flourishing agriculture: wheat and barley predominant, scarcely any rye; potatoes and turnips of all kinds, in almost equal proportions; and not a little clover and pasture fields. The diversity, already mentioned, the charm of the scenery, principally arises from the circumstance, that the several divisions of the country (*i. e.* the fields) are by no means of the same size and shape, and extremely seldom long and narrow. Every field is inclosed with green hedges, and the trees are so numerous, scattered in such various groups over the fields and meadows, that England is not, indeed, the country in the world richest in forests, but, perhaps, the most abounding in trees. How dreary and monotonous are the treeless, hedgeless roads of the celebrated Magdeburg, compared with this variegated landscape of inclosures, hedges, trees, corn-fields, and pastures! I do not exaggerate; but, on the contrary, am below the mark, when I assert that we can overlook, on each side of the road, a five-fold length of verdant hedging: if, in a distance of fifty

miles, five hundred, on both sides, are planted with hedges, this is surely a proof of industry, capital, and an attention to elegance and beauty, which we do not always find united with them.' We often boast of our avenues, but, instead of these long, tedious, uniform, prosaic, parallel lines, I here find the most manifold and charming diversity. I never could have supposed it possible that such simple elements as tree and bush could produce as much variety as a kaleidoscope. What I see reminds me of some portions of the Goldenau of Anhalt, of Lower Silesia, only that these highly-cultivated plains are infinitely more extensive in England. The whole country has the appearance of an agricultural garden; and, though individual farmers and land-owners may, from a variety of causes, be in bad circumstances, yet the soil proves a careful cultivation, and must bring them large returns.

The Englishman of rank has a greater regard to his comfort at his country-house than in London; a rout in town can scarcely be so congenial to the mind, so *comfortable*, as the pleasures which nature here offers. This two-fold kind of life in town and country, united with the varied and peculiar activity, must have a beneficial influence on mind and body, and is altogether different from the hankering after summer villas, with which dull sort of poetry many among us endeavour to banish their mental tedium.

Early the next morning I saw, at Nottingham, the remains of the castle, finely situated on a rock, which had been burnt down by the populace.

It may lead the English to humility, that if they are very little threatened with danger from without, it may manifest itself with double force and destructive power at home. No people is destitute of some internal seeds of depravity, but if their growth is not checked in this fortunate island, the guilt and the punishment would be doubly great. Momentary want of employment, too striking contrast between rich and poor, mistaken notions of the effects of machinery, excited the populace some years ago. But it was only the populace who were inflamed to madness, and the disorder passed over with the occasion, and by proper management. But what shall we say of the unhappy nation which, for five and forty years has been seeking for liberty in all directions, and by every means, only not by moderation, contentedness, and humility!

Even the boldest adherent of the superficial Utilitarian doctrine here would shrink with horror at such a wholesale, indiscriminate attempt at murder as that upon Louis-Philip; compared with these cold-blooded, calculating wretches, Clement and Ravaillac appear to me almost like innocent, misguided children. Is this the fruit of the pretended highest civilization, to trample at once under foot the commands of nature, of the mind, and of revelation, and to trust only to a redemption through Satan. I would most willingly admit the excuse, and persuade myself of its validity, that this is but an isolated attempt, wholly unconnected with the nation, civilization, inclination, &c. But the contrary conviction

forces itself upon me against my will. Where poets, who ought to purify and ennoble our earthly existence, find their highest pleasure in wallowing in the mire of everything that is base and vile; where the stage becomes the school for sin, must not such practice result, in the end, from such a theory. And can religion have a salutary effect, when the one party considers the Jesuitical Monte Rouge as the only true Zion, and the other makes Lalande a saint, because he denied everything holy. Many (how could a man doubt it) follow better paths, but their intellectual electricity seems to be exhausted, and a *procès monstre* will not suffice to subdue and kill such adversaries.

The ordinances of the year 1830 were certainly injudicious, nay, unjust. But what has proceeded from the boundless joy, the arrogant self-confidence, the extravagant hopes? Peace was preserved, but more from fear than from love of peace, and more through the king of Prussia than because a conviction of the necessary independence of nations had taken root among the French. May God make things better both in the *east* and the *west!* But in these precious five years has one single, great, and salutary law been passed? a measure truly relieving the sufferings of the world, adopted or carried into effect in France?—No. The public debt and standing army have been increased; the taxes in no essential point diminished; the monopoly of the rich maintained, from military service down to the manufacture of sugar; vain declamations about cos-

mopolitism—with the prohibitory system; slaves instead of independent, and yet obedient civil officers, an inflammatory fever in Paris, and a shivering fit in the provinces and towns, which are deprived of all rights and independence!

God knows the future destinies of France and England,—and not I, or any other man, because he reads the newspapers. Some persons point out resemblances between the two countries, but I will oppose them with differences, and hope to have the better of the argument. Richelieu said, "The French wanted *à plomb*," the English had, perhaps, too much; and this gigantic ship, which boldly traverses the ocean of history, still possesses so much genuine living ballast of mind and heart, that it will certainly not so easily upset and sink, because some political adventurers clamber up the mast, and waving their colours, dream of an El Dorado, suspended between heaven and earth, where they would cast anchor.

But this saying of Richelieu may be explained or interpreted in another manner, if we are to understand by it the faculty or tendency to remain unalterably in one and the same position or course; the French are certainly more destitute of this *à plomb* than any other people of Europe. On the other hand, they have, more than any nation, the *à plomb* of the cork tumblers with which children amuse themselves. You may throw them down, push, roll, or set them on their head, they immediately rise and stand on their feet, and defeat all attacks in the same manner. A German stands firm and sure, but having the

centre of gravity in his heart; if he is once thrown down, he is a long time insensible, and scarcely moves, while the French merrily dance around and spring over him. But if the seven sleepers awake, as in the year 1813, they know how to shake off these foreign tumblers. Daru replied to the Prussian deputies who complained of intolerable oppression, "You do not know what a people and a country can bear and endure." The French themselves are certainly the best proof of this; but how long did the impotency of the Germans continue after the barbarous period of their Thirty years' war? May the French not argue themselves into a similar state of impotency!

England has carried on war for many years, but it has had no war in its own country; this is a main cause of its civilization and improvement. What are all taxes to the oppressive and tormenting burden of lodging foreign, insolent soldiers? It is happy when a nation understands how to profit by this purgatory, to effect its regeneration, and does not, by cowardly submission, fall a prey to death.

In the course of my journey, I looked around with the greatest attention for symptoms of decline; and saw here and there, perhaps, some broken window, or a gate off the hinges—but scarcely so often as the artist desires for the picturesque. On the whole, I beheld every where careful husbandry, order, improvements, new houses, neat gardens, &c. The smaller towns, doubtless, contain much suffering, but they, too, are evidently improving: when I see

new gas works, new roads, and the streets watered to lay the dust, I have surely as much reason to infer general prosperity and comfort, as Cobbett had to prophesy the ruin of England, because he happened to meet with a dilapidated dog-kennel.

Sheffield and Leeds showed the greatest and most rapid rise. Yet the impression, on the whole, was not pleasing and agreeable, as these enlargements and improvements were the result of the immediate wants and objects of individuals. We therefore rarely trace any comprehensive plan, any attention to general convenience, or to beauty and architectonic art. Capital is employed solely in the creation of new capital. What is not calculated to promote this end is regarded as useless and superfluous. It is with a far different view that the west side of London has been enlarged.

I stayed in Wakefield the 31st of July and the 1st of August. I had become acquainted in London with Mr. S———, the vicar of Wakefield, and had besides resolved occasionally to pass a night in some of the smaller towns, in order to make myself, in some measure, acquainted with the difference which exists between them and larger cities. The gooseberry wine maintained its old character at Mr. S———'s, and in a future edition of the novel, honourable mention should be made of the excellent beer and beef-steaks of the hospitable family. Mr. S——— took me to a manufactory, but the proprietor must soon have perceived that I was not a person to spy out the mysteries of the art, for my atten-

tion was excited by the great number of the girls at work. None of their labours were hard, none were forced to constrained positions; the room was lofty, and the air was pure, and, with scarcely any exception, they had plump rosy cheeks, and fat arms, and looked in much better health than I expected, after the accounts I had heard. I found but one inconvenience, which I had never heard mentioned, the noise of the looms and machinery.

From the factory we proceeded to the prison, built on the plan of Messrs. Bentham and Pythagoras. The former contrives the arrangements like a great cobweb, in the centre of which sits the vigilant superintendent, a mere abstract idea, for he neither can, nor will, constantly look out from his central position, because it is by no means necessary that he should do so. This first error gives rise to the erection of an immense number of useless walls and divisions; a prison neatly plaited like an antique ruff. With an eighth part of the cost and materials, all the essential objects of such a building might be attained. Bentham was certainly no philosopher, in the higher scientific sense of the word; but here I cannot even discover a correct or judicious practice.

The Pythagorean system of silence has also been introduced into this prison. I have already directed your attention to the good effects produced by it. But if the punishments already annexed to certain crimes were severe enough, they appear to me too rigorous with this great

additional severity. But if the new standard is the correct one, the former was too mild and too short. There is nothing unreasonable in the innovation, said a lawyer to me, for the culprit knows the condition, and accepts it. So, also, he formerly accepted torture, and yet no one can deny its barbarism and injustice. The scandal of improper conversation can be checked, without prohibiting every sound to those who are shut up in solitary cells. A bird which was singing in its cage seemed to me the only free being within this labyrinth of walls. My feelings are wounded by this perfect muteness—this measuring of morality according to the standard of unbroken silence—and I find it quite impossible to regain a proper frame of mind to-day.

From Wakefield I proceeded to Leeds, but did not make a long stay, as I wished to go by the rail-road to Selby; but here, even, the steam-engine rests on Sundays: I had, therefore, no alternative between setting out on Saturday or waiting till Monday.

In front stands the fiery dragon, groaning, snorting, and foaming till the twenty carriages are lashed to his tail; when he sets forward with the utmost ease and rapidity over the horizontal plane. Mountains have been levelled, valleys raised, and in the gloom of the vaulted tunnel the dragon throws out fire and flames. Yet, in spite of all the force, and all the noise, one man guides the monster at his will.

From Selby I went to York. The cathedral is magnificent, but less beautiful than those which

have pointed spires. Within were great preparations for the approaching musical festival. The painted windows, inferior to those in Germany, and the monuments for the most part without merit as works of art.

In the evening I went to Ripon. I was obliged to rest for one day, for the wind, heat, and dust on the road had so heated my blood, and blistered my face, that, without any additional paint, I might have acted the part of Zamiel with great effect. In the inn, however, I found a man whose face glowed still more than mine, which not a little consoled me.

LETTER LX.

Divine Service—Mental Improvement—Birthday of the King of Prussia—Studley Park—Fountains Abbey—The Middle Ages and Modern Times—Newcastle on Tyne—Factories—Durham—Coal-Mines at South Hetton—Progress of English Manufactures.

Edinburgh, August 7th, 1835.

WHILE taking an evening walk in the neighbourhood of Ripon, a man called after me—"Go a hundred steps farther, and you will have a fine prospect:" he was right; and I learned in conversation that he was a native of Belgium, but had been long settled and married in England. On this and the following day, when I drank tea in the cheerful family of Mr. H———, he very kindly took me to see all the curiosities of the place: he told me that the greater part of the neighbouring commons had been converted into gardens (chiefly by his exertions), and that Ripon had advanced in proportion with the larger towns: this is another confirmation of my opinion, and of my hopes for the future.

On Sunday, the 2nd of August, I walked into the church. Divine service, as performed in the smaller towns, is more marked and peculiar. I found the liturgy, as in other places, too long, and too full of repetitions and similarities; yet how sublime and animating are those simple musical responses, the Gloria patria, and Amen,—compared with all the shakes and turns that are

now called music, but are in reality only calculated to tickle the ear. The sermon was plain and sensible, but directed against Rome and Catholicism, in a manner we are no longer accustomed to in Prussia, and which will gradually disappear, in proportion to the progress of Christian charity in both parties. Not but that there is a very important difference, only the mode of expounding it, and of exploring and spreading the truth, may be united either with un-Christian acrimony or with Christian charity.

I find occasion to observe that practical intellectual education is, perhaps, greater than among us, but positive knowledge less; and yet the object is not attained till both are combined in due proportion. Thus a person of the inferior class talked very sensibly about religion and religious toleration, but was so unacquainted with the difference between Prussia and Russia, that, under other circumstances, I might have taken it for a satire on the too close connexion between those two States. A young lady, who spoke very well, asked me if Napoleon was still alive? I found this innocence, or indifference to the tree of knowledge almost laudable, but was not a little surprised when she went on to inquire whether I had come overland from Berlin to England.

On the 3rd of August I fulfilled, far from our country, my most imperative duty, and gratefully remembered our king. There are in the history of the world so many celebrated names, from whose glory, however, every century takes something away, because the business of their life

was only destruction. This idolatry, paid to the destroying divinities of the earth, ought to be combated by every means, and to be rooted out. The true gardener is not he who cuts down the sound tree, and burns it for fuel; but he who sows, plants, waters, grafts, destroys vermin, lops off dead branches, &c. The tree falls with a crash to the ground, beats down everything in its way; and this kind of history, calculated for effect, has been extolled, not only by the stupified and amazed spectators, but by authors who are called philosophical and liberal. In the histories of the French Revolution which are the most read and recommended, the mild and benevolent Louis XVI. is censured, and his morality at the most passed over with a shrug of the shoulders as of no importance; but as soon as Murat, Robespierre, or other dragons of the New Babel appear in the field, the knee is bowed, and the torrent of hellfire is recommended as an admirable means for purifying the air.

For the last thirty years Prussia has proceeded in a course of uninterrupted active development. The advocates of false stability have never been able to persuade the king to stand still, nor the panegyrists of foreign institutions to proceed with revolutionary rapidity. To have found this mean direction, this diagonal between the opposed powers which move the world, is the merit of the king and of his faithful servants. From the moment that one of those powers prevail alone Prussia goes to ruin. From this God will preserve us, under Frederic William III., and his successor.

There are many external indices in the physiognomy of public law, from which various inferences may be drawn respecting its nature: in England, for instance, the landed and the monied interest, an established and a dissenting church, &c.; in France there are not merely two sides, but even two centres, with rotations round each centre, which renders political calculations more complex, and leads to greater confusion and anomalies, than if we would calculate the orbits of the suns and planets according to the Ptolemaic or Tychonic systems.

We have nothing of the kind—we have nothing to oppose to such superabundant political wealth, except, perhaps, a mere word, or a mere play on words. But this we have alone, and he who is able properly to explain and to animate it, who has thoroughly thought and felt it, has, like Achilles and Siegfried, scarcely *one* spot to cover against the attacks of open or secret enemies. *Vaterland—Landesvater.* In these two words, in the manner in which they belong together, mutually blend and cherish each other, share each other's joys and sufferings,—in these two mysterious, yet plain words lies the eternal code of the whole public law of Germany. There may be countries in which they separate one ingredient with *vinaigre aux quatre voleurs*, and think it sufficient. There may be others where it is considered as an improvement to give a supposed greater unity to both by rude forge-work. May heaven preserve to the Germans this two-fold life, which, in the highest sense, is in fact but one!

Amid such reflections I strayed at five in the morning from Ripon to Studley Park, along fields and hedges. The park itself is but an extensive and highly-improved section of the entire landscape. The noblest trees, a crystal lake, a murmuring stream—nature everywhere tastefully combined with art; nothing rude, nothing over-refined. On a sudden turn in the road, the magnificent ruins of Fountains Abbey stood before me, towards which I hastened with my intelligent guide. I thought that I was entering the aisle of the church, but it was only the transept; and the extent and sublimity of the building again surprised me when I reached the intersection of the cross. An extremely lofty and slender column still supports two bold arches; the vaulted roof, which covered the centre, has fallen in. The ancient library, the vast refectory, the vaulted cloisters—they are not the ruins of a single edifice, but an astonishing assemblage of ruins of many splendid buildings. The solemn stillness, the beauty of the scenery, the ivy which mantled the walls and towers, and in part completely covered them, presented an image of the bygone world of mind, and the fresh and youthful energy of nature. I have never seen ruins so grand and striking,—I might almost say, so full of thought and feeling.

I could never yet feel any real enthusiasm for the remains of the corrupt ages of the Roman emperors. In the Colosseum I have always been reminded of the ill-fated Jews, who were forced to raise a pile for the Heathens, to

prepare a triumph for the ignobler passions by the combats of gladiators and wild beasts. How far otherwise is the case here! Solitary pilgrims arrive in the savage spot; they repose under the ancient trees, endure wants of every kind, in order to spread the glad tidings of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Touched by their call, the soul bursts its fetters; gratitude hastens to rear a temple to the Lord; and the small band, united in the strong bonds of love, can effect more than an empire composed of conquered provinces. The grove of primæval trees finds its artificial and ennobled image, in the columns, branches, foliage, and wreaths of the churches and chapels; a destination, a style of architecture altogether different from the amphitheatres of Rome, Verona, or Nismes. They only prove that man can settle where he finds a convenient spot—but these structures testify, even in their ruins, that man must raise himself to God. The impious shedding of human blood in the combats of the arena is changed into the remembrance of the sin-atoning blood of Christ: then the innocent was the victim, and the conqueror triumphed in his savage joy: the new faith offers consolation to all —leads all to holiness and humility.

Some remains of Mosaic indicate the place where the high altar stood. Here, then, will some perhaps say, was the centre of superstition, of monkish indolence and ignorance: well, thank heaven! it is all destroyed, or, at the most, remains as a favourable object in the scene for the landscape painter. But what will be left,

in the lapse of ages, of the manufactories, rail-roads, and steam-engines? You accuse yourselves, when you speak thus of your ancestors. You cannot raise, with cotton and muslin, vaulted roofs and pillars like those which exist here in monumental stone. How miserable, stunning, and stupifying is all the noise of your machinery, compared with the *sanctus*, the *gloria*, and the *requiem æternam* which still echo from every stone of these silent ruins. The high altar the centre of superstition! For myself I need not the miracle of transubstantiation, this recurrence of subordinate, material miracles, because my whole soul is absorbed in the one stupendous miracle, that the Divine nature can and has entered into the circle of individual human existence. If God were wholly and for ever separated from man, where would be the comfort, where the possibility of the exaltation for which we long? On the contrary, if I would raise myself into the Divinity, it is a *salto mortale* and the pride which of old caused the downfall of Satan. The doctrine of the two natures in Christ, of the union of the divine with the human, is so important, because, if rightly conceived, it becomes, or may become, for every one, the guide of his efforts and his hopes.

Edinburgh, August 9th, 1835.

On the 8th of August, at noon, I set out for Newcastle-on-Tyne, where I arrived in the evening. Richmond and Darlington, as well as Durham and the vale of the Wear, reminded me of

the countries on the Elbe, and the valley of the Elbe between Pillnitz and Dresden.

At Newcastle, I again had occasion gratefully to acknowledge the kindness and hospitality of the English. A brother of Mr. P—r, a physician, received me in the most friendly manner into his house; and two other brothers took so much pains for me, that I saw, heard, and learned more in a very short time than a hundred other travellers. I felt what a saving of time kings have at their command if they would but profit by it.

On the 4th of August, therefore, I saw (what is impracticable without the recommendation of a friend), the coal-mine in Watbottle, the glass and iron works at Leamington, the paper manufactory at Scotswood, the glass manufactory in Newcastle, and the steam-engine manufactory of Mr. Stevenson.

On the 5th of August I went with Mr. P——, on board the steamer, to the harbour of Shields, and to Tynemouth, and viewed whatever was remarkable in Newcastle. One part of the town is old, and, as it were, still in the state of a chrysalis, while in the other new buildings are springing up, and great improvements making. Everywhere is life, work, and activity. Many of the buildings,—for instance, the Museum, the Post Office, &c., are conformable to the rules of classical architecture. Some parts are like Prague.

In Shields, the ruins of an ancient monastery are situated on a high promontory, which runs

into the sea: another proof how skilfully the monks chose the site for their abodes, and how sensible they were to the beauties of nature.

On the 5th, at noon, I returned to Durham, and found there a fourth Mr. P——r, who, at the desire of his brother, was already waiting for me with his carriage. We went first to the pleasant promenades round one part of the city, then to the ruins of the castle, and to the old cathedral. These buildings, and the deep valley of the Wear, into which you look down from a considerable elevation, may be compared to the country and the Schlossberge near Meissen. In Durham Cathedral, I found a remarkable union of circular and pointed arches, and the thickest round pillars fluted in various patterns, with lofty columns, ribs, and branches.

From Durham we drove to South Hetton, and I passed the forenoon of the 6th of August underground in the far-extended coal-mines. Standing in a barrel, I descended perpendicularly to a very great depth; and the first thing I saw was a number of horses, which are let down in nets, and generally remain here till they die.

You must look for no precise, no technical descriptions; it is sufficient to mention some particulars by way of example, in order to put together, and to justify, some general reflections. Steam-engines and iron rail-roads have altered and immeasurably extended all the trades carried on in this neighbourhood. The folly of opposition to all machinery is here as clear as day, and it may be proved, with mathematical precision,

that without these new powers and resources thousands of men could not gain a livelihood; that the population has increased, and more than one entirely new branch of industry has arisen.

In this one large coal-mine are three steam-engines, each of 100-horse power, one of 300-horse power, making altogether 600-horse power. The beam of this largest engine contains 81,840 pounds of massive iron. It makes 15 strokes in a minute, each of which raises 800 lbs. weight of water. The price of this one engine was 10,000*l.* sterling. The iron rail-roads run for miles in different directions, and the cost is, on an average, 4*s.* a foot. Every day about 3,240,000 lbs. of coals are taken from this one mine, or 672 million pounds in 300 days' work. If all this labour were to be effected by men and horses, many square miles of country would be required for their support, and coals would rise to an exorbitant price. All manufactories, which cannot be carried on without cheap fuel, would go to ruin. At present, the expense of raising a chaldron of coals amounts to 18*s.*, and, on the spot, the chaldron is sold, on an average, at 28*s.* 6*d.* Out of this profit of 10*s.* or 10*s.* 6*d.* on a chaldron, the interest of the existing capital, and that of the first outlay, is to be deducted, as part of this last must be reckoned the money which the shafts cost: of the former, the waggons, horses, and other things, which may be sold. 30 horses and 400 waggons are here in constant motion, the value of the latter being estimated at 20*l.* each. A capital of 400,000*l.* sterling is in-

vested in these mines, which brings in about 15 per cent. interest; 700 persons are employed in the capacity of colliers, smiths, carpenters, &c.: it is a colony of the most diversified kind.

After these great and astonishing results, the question naturally arises,—what is the condition of the people? is it not most wretched and pitiable? This second question interested me still more than the first; the examination led to equally pleasing results. Every coal-miner receives, 1st, gratis, a plot of ground, chiefly for planting potatoes; 2nd, a dwelling; 3rd, daily wages. I found the dwellings beyond my expectation, very neat and cleanly, bright windows, and behind each some indication of prosperity and ornament. The daily wages of boys, whose work is very easy—driving the horses, for instance—is about one shilling, and rises, in proportion to the labour, to six shillings; on an average they may be stated at four shillings a day. When we consider that provisions and manufactured goods are now as cheap in England as in Germany, that the miners have nothing to pay for house-rent, fuel, and potatoes, and that their wages are without comparison higher than in any country on the Continent, it is evident that this part of the population of England is better off, and enjoys a higher degree of prosperity than anywhere else. It is not unusual for them to have meat on their table twice in a day; and that old and young eat only the finest wheaten bread is a matter of course. Among more than 200 children, I did not see one sickly, beggarly, or deformed; all

strong and hearty, with rosy cheeks, and except where a streak of coal crossed the face, remarkably fair and handsome.

I connect with these evident facts some inferences. On the continent, two opposite views are advocated with equal warmth. First, the improvement of our manufactures has brought down England from its pre-eminence; secondly, the English manufactures entirely ruin every German enterprise. In the same manner, the English adopt the one or the other of these assertions. How much is true, and how much false?

All nations, chiefly in consequence of the blessings of peace, are daily advancing, and England will never again be able to obtain a monopoly of the German market. But it is taking a partial and superficial view of the case to infer from it the necessary and inevitable ruin of England. I have, in another place, shown what an immense market is open to it in all quarters of the globe, and never were the demand and the production so great as at this moment. Even the demand for Germany will again increase, as soon as Great Britain adopts the liberal commercial system of our country, and does not, with short-sighted selfishness, entirely exclude our produce and manufactures, or subject them to exorbitant duties.

The second assertion, that no manufacture can arise and flourish in Germany, in competition with the English, is refuted by a thousand instances: nay, many Englishmen ask for higher protecting duties against foreign productions, and found these claims on two arguments, which they pre-

tend are incontrovertible: first, their heavy taxes; and, secondly, the high wages which they have to pay. With respect to the first point, I shall endeavour to prove, in another place, how erroneous it is to estimate the burthens in different states solely by the sum which each individual has to pay. I affirm, with a view to the several circumstances that have any influence here, that the taxes paid by the English are, on the contrary, the lowest in the world; because, after deducting them, they have far more capital and income remaining, and live better, than the Germans, French, Spaniards, Italians, Russians, Poles, &c.

In the second place, with respect to their higher wages, I see in them an apparently greater burthen for those who pay, and a really greater advantage for those who receive. The latter is evident, from the fact, that the English workmen and mechanics eat, drink, and are clothed better than any others; but the former may also be proved to the satisfaction of every unprejudiced person. In the first place, the most active, numerous—the most productive labourers in England, that is, the machines, are paid much less than elsewhere. Where a German manufactory requires a hundred workmen, an English one wants perhaps ten; and if the latter receive high, and the others low wages, the expense is still much greater in the former case, even if I take into account the cost of the machinery, iron railroads, &c.

Further, the English manufacturer, who has

much larger capital at his command, has more left, as he pays lower interest than the German. Lastly,—and this is a most important point (which is very striking in the environs of Newcastle)—local circumstances, and the union of different kinds of trade, are productive of such extraordinary advantages, that wages seem wholly unimportant. By way of example, I will mention only a few particulars. The stream bears down the ships without exertion; the tide carries them up without greater expense. The colliers often bring back manure for the farmers from London, or old iron to be re-melted, and this instead of the necessary ballast. The strata of earth between which the coals lie are elsewhere thrown aside as useless: here immense brick kilns are employed in using them up. The purification of the air in the mines, which in other places is so expensive, is here effected by burning coal, the cost of which is hardly worth taking into account. Whole rows of loaded waggons roll down the inclined planes, and at the same time draw up the empty ones on an adjoining plane; where a countless multitude of men and horses and a great length of time would be required, a few workmen are here sufficient. Therefore, though the payment is the very highest, there is in England an extraordinary saving of labour, time, and money; and the English manufacturer does not require protecting duties, on account either of heavy taxes or higher wages—not to mention that, for other reasons, such duties are never of any use. If any person denies all this, nothing more would be

necessary to refute him than to bring him only once to the Tyne, and show him how the waggons, without the aid of men or animals, hasten along the iron rail-roads, from the greatest distance to the coast; how, by a simple mechanism, by the aid of two workmen, they are let down in a few seconds to the ships, and discharge themselves in an equally short time,—rise again, and run back to the mine while the second row of loaded waggons rolls down: I say, we need but to see this one, or the whole mechanism, how the rags in the manufactory at Scotswood convert themselves into paper, —to be convinced, for our whole life, of the worthlessness of all partial assertions.

Another time, perhaps, I may send you the proof that the German manufactures, notwithstanding all this, may exist together with the English, and, after the abolition of the prohibitory system, will be in a natural and healthy state. But my letter is very long—I hope you will not find it too long. I have found a new patron of these letters: the first is Mr. Murray, inasmuch as he will publish a translation of them; the second is Mrs. Austin, who kindly undertakes the translation; and, lastly, I have just received the following news from London:—"I was with Mrs. A. on Sunday; and she desired me to tell you that she had seen Mr. Spring Rice on that day; and, in speaking of your intended work on England, and her translation, he has requested her to transmit the manuscript to him; and if there are any financial statements, or statements of any kind relating to Government, he will take care to have them offi-

cially verified, as well as assisting with any information within his reach."

You may suppose how much pleasure it gives me, that the first English minister will stand godfather to my child; and that I shall return to London as soon as possible, in order to derive advantage from his kindness for the German edition. I have hitherto kept back the difficult chapter on the finances, because I was not satisfied with it. All doubts and difficulties will now be happily removed.

LETTER LXI.

Seaham—Sunderland—Edinburgh—Situation—Beauty—Laws—Regulations—Prisons—Divine Service—Presbyterianism—Street Preachers—Glasgow—Manufactories—Cathedral—Prison—University—Population—Improvements—The Scotch Lakes—Passage to Ireland.

Edinburgh, Monday, 10th August, 1835.

I HAVE brought down my accounts only as far as the 6th of August at South Hetton. How many geological enigma are comprehended within this one coal-mine! Whence these alternations and strata of earth, sand, limestone, coal, &c.? How comes this combustible mineral between such different layers of earth and stones? Why is it sometimes only an inch, sometimes a foot broad, but to a very great extent neither thicker nor thinner, while the thickness of other strata sometimes increases, sometimes decreases? Why, after greater or less intervals, a second, third, or fourth stratum? Whence, in more acute or more obtuse angles, a hard rock, even basalt, breaking through the mostly horizontal strata? What power has caused a sudden breaking off of these strata, and, many feet higher or lower, and equally suddenly, the regular continuation? To all this the geologists have not merely one, but, according to the different systems, several answers at hand; but this very multiplicity of answers is a proof that they are hitherto only in the region of hypothesis, and not

that of truth. This is no reproach, for if we are so often unable to understand what is above ground, even what is present to us, how can we obtain a complete and satisfactory conception of what is concealed in the depths, and the remotest antiquity? Haller, therefore, says—"Into the inner recesses of nature no created spirit can penetrate." But can we penetrate even the interior of our own heart, our thoughts and feelings? None but one destitute of thought and feeling will deny that here too there are mysteries and wonders.

From South Hetton I drove with Mr. P—— to Seaham, where an entirely new harbour has been made, at a great expense, for the colliers; and then to Sunderland, where a second harbour has been formed in a similar manner. Every where there are proofs of prosperity and activity: the last town, in particular, of which we do not hear so frequently, exceeded my expectations. The mouth of the Wear presented the same appearances as that of the Tyne, and the great iron-bridge of one arch is a peculiar ornament to Sunderland. The arch is two hundred and sixty feet in diameter, and one hundred feet above the surface of the water, so that ships of two hundred to three hundred tons burthen can sail under it. At Sunderland I parted, with the most heartfelt gratitude, from Mr. P———, and returned to Newcastle to the other brother, who accompanied me, at seven o'clock in the morning of the 9th of August, to the stage. At eight o'clock I left Newcastle, and reached Edinburgh at nine in the

evening. Except at some points, for instance at Jedburgh and Melrose, the road is uniform and uninteresting. Even the Cheviot hills are neither beautiful nor sublime in their forms, but wild, cold, and sterile. A very violent north wind discomposed the whole company, and the pain in my eyes and face increased. Among the short grass there are some higher tufts, which are proofs rather of sterility and unfitness for food, than of fertility, and of the good quality of the pasture. Scattered sheep wandered on the wide waste, and I involuntarily thought of the heath of Lunenburg, and of the *peuple des Heidschnucks* (so a French writer calls the ragged sheep on that heath). At this instant my neighbour said, "A very fine country." Not at all disconcerted by my secret doubts, he pointed to a thread of muddy water which appeared among the yellow grass, and exclaimed—"Indeed a very splendid river!" It was the young man's first excursion, and I took care not to damp his pleasure, but, compared with him, I might look upon myself as a great traveller. To a question, however, from my second companion, whether I had travelled much, I very modestly replied, "A little;" but even this *little* was too much; for his next query, "Have you been in Greece?" sent me back to my snail's house, No. 67, Kockstrasse, and I did not again venture to put out my horns. A person who has not seen, at least, the East and West Indies, cannot venture in England to talk of his travels. After all, it is of less importance how far a man has travelled, than what information and improvement he has derived from it.

As you advance farther into Scotland, the scenery improves, and many parts had a German air; for example, larger districts of arable and meadow land, plantations of pines, more trees by the road-side, and fewer in the fields, soup at dinner, and, for the first time, women and children without stockings.

The ruins of Melrose Abbey are very striking, but cannot be compared with those of Fountains Abbey. I had only a distant view of Walter Scott's house at Abbotsford. The scenery is in unison with his writings: softly-swelling hills, fields and copses variously divided, a gently-flowing stream, a harmonious combination of many diverse parts. Lord Byron never could have lived here a day.

Glasgow, August 13th.

THE number of my letters of introduction in Edinburgh was far too great for me to distribute during my short stay there; but they were rendered superfluous by the kind attentions of Professor N——r, Sir W. H——n, and Sir T. T——n, who invited me to their houses, and carried me to see everything curious and interesting.

Edinburgh, like many other cities, has an old and a new town, but many of the streets in the former, as High Street, for example, are broader and finer than usual, and the modern part surpasses, in my opinion, almost everything of the kind I have seen elsewhere. The west part of London may be more extensive, but, on the other hand, the three-window system does not predo-

minate in Edinburgh; the houses display a greater variety, and are built, not of brick, but of a very beautiful real stone. The public buildings, churches, libraries, &c., manifest great taste and architectural judgment; we nowhere see such unharmonious buildings as those at Charing Cross, Buckingham Palace, or the great chest on the top of the Mansion-house. The Edinburgh architects excel those of London, and the enthusiasm of the public authorities for the embellishment of their native city is deserving of great praise, though they have been blamed for it in many quarters. It is to be hoped that Calton Hill will be transformed more and more into an Athenian Acropolis; and as the glory of Pericles and Phidias has survived all censures, may Heaven grant their Scotch imitators resources and perseverance; they may then be certain that glory will follow.

Some of the lately-built portions of Berlin may be compared with Edinburgh; but we have not the beautiful prospects and striking points within the city and out of it. The ancient castle, situated on a lofty rock, commands the whole city, and makes a fine and striking appearance, especially from Princes Street, which has houses only on one side. Higher rocks approach the city on the land side as in Palermo; and Calton Hill, like Capo di Monte in Naples, affords an extensive view over the city, the land gently sloping towards the sea, the Firth of Forth, the opposite coast, and the entrance into the sea. There are few panoramas in the world to be com-

pared to this, and we are involuntarily reminded of Naples, which is the highest praise that can be given. I have contemplated with the greatest pleasure all the prospects of Edinburgh, and certainly have not detracted from that pleasure by chilling and useless comparisons; but as I was called upon, I made the following observations.

In favour of Edinburgh it may be alleged, that the neighbouring hills are higher and more defined, and the modern parts of the city more elegantly built than in Naples. But in that city some streets, St. Lucia, for instance, run to the beautiful bay of Naples, while the less transparent Firth is half a mile from Edinburgh. The lines of Sorento, Capri, Ischia, and Procida, are more varied than the opposite coast of Fife, and Vesuvius affords an accessory in the grandest style: the tints and lights of the South surpass those of the North; and if there the transparent ether enlivens and brightens every object, the Scotch mist obscures and darkens the country over which it hangs.

Nature appears to me here once more in her full energy and splendour; yet I visited with no less pleasure the building for the archives, the fine libraries, the old parliament-house, and many edifices erected by voluntary subscriptions—more particular descriptions of which you may find in printed books.

Holyrood, with the apartments of Queen Mary, was peculiarly interesting to me. The chamber in which Earl Darnley and the conspirators fell upon Rizzio is extremely small. On comparing

the locality with all the accounts which I have before me, I feel convinced that Rizzio was surprised on the same spot where the earl had before found him undressed. Vengeance overtook him there where he should never have ventured a second time. The miniature of Queen Mary, which the attendant showed me, is quite a modern forgery. Another large picture which she pointed out as Rizzio, represents him as a *young*, not as an *old* man: it, however, resembles other pictures which go by the name of Darnley, and is by no means authenticated, for which reason I dare not draw any conclusions from it. The early letters of Mary in the archives contain nothing of historical interest.

Scotland differs from England in so many laws, customs, arrangements, &c., that a comparative view, which is still a desideratum, would be highly interesting. Especially it would be proper to show the reasons of this difference, and to develop the causes why the northern kingdom has, in many respects, taken the lead of the southern. I account for this phenomenon, in part, as follows: England possessed a higher degree of civilization and fixed native institutions, at a time when Scotland was still attached to much that was barbarous and arbitrary. But the Scotch, because many of them visited foreign countries, became acquainted with various institutions, and then, perhaps, returned home with a predilection for them. In England, where the people could refer to more ancient institutions, and where precedent is held sacred, every change met with the greatest diffi-

culty; whereas the Scotch saw nothing but gain in changing the form and treatment of their rude soil, and consequently advanced more rapidly than their more cautious neighbours.

A municipal organization has been very lately introduced in Scotland, without much noise and opposition, which in the main and essential points coincides with that which is now stigmatized by a party in England as revolutionary and condemnable. The system of self-election—the close corporations, were abolished here; and of all the frightful consequences which, according to the assertion of the Tories, were to ensue, little or nothing is to be seen.

The Scotch prisons are administered in a much more simple and less expensive manner than the English, and the management of the poor in Scotland has never fallen into the abuses complained of in England. Even the most ancient law of 1579 (the basis of later regulations) excludes able-bodied men from all relief, nor does it anywhere mention the duty of giving them employment, though without doubt the authors of it knew, and had before them; the English law, which gives directions on this subject. Almost all relief is provided for by voluntary contributions, and never exceeds what is really necessary to relieve distress. Where a poor-tax was necessary, one half was generally laid upon the landowner, and the other half on the farmer. But the amount was always very inconsiderable in comparison with that in England. In general the entire management of the poor was not in

the hands of overseers (often incompetent), but of the magistrates, and the most respectable, best-informed persons. Least of all were those permitted to decide who could derive advantage from the misinterpretation of the poor-laws. In Scotland there was no appeal from the municipality to a higher court. Three years' residence gained a settlement.

It would be an interesting question for learned enquiry,—what has England gained or lost by the almost total exclusion of the Roman law, and Scotland by a partial adoption of it? A comparison between the mode of proceeding in the courts would also be interesting: for instance, that in Scotland the unanimity of the jury is required only in civil causes, whereas in criminal causes the majority decides.

The greatest difference between England and Scotland is in respect to the Church. According to the usual mode of considering the subject, which seeks and recognises only an abstract perfection, the one form must be unconditionally preferred to the other. But to me it appears that a deeper penetration into the science, and experience prove that as the state, or the kingdom of God allows, nay, demands different forms, the same is the case with the church of God. Christianity has rendered the intractable ductile, and permits growth and motion without destroying the essential nucleus, or extinguishing the source of life. As the forms of the state have their history, so also those of the church: only that which is temporal and perishable has

but one form; and for that very reason it is temporal and perishable. The character of the eternal and imperishable lies in constant transformation, without injury to the identity. Philosophy, for instance, would be worthless and dead if, as many require, it appeared through all ages in one and the same form. That it bears within itself something great, profound, and indestructible is manifest, because it always rises with renewed vigour from the night of long barbarism, or throws off the frippery and paint of false refinement.

But Revelation, I hear it objected, is an exception: it is unchangeable; it has always the same value, appearance, contents; one and the same eternal truth. But has not this one and the same Revelation been differently reflected in the minds and hearts of men; have not thousands, after the most serious efforts, drawn different pictures, given rules, nay, pronounced penalties and anathemas; and should I, as soon as I had crossed the Cheviot Hills, in a southern or northern direction, at once condemn or approve the system of England or Scotland? Far be that from me! Yet the Scotch system seems to me to harmonize with the Scotch, better than the English does with the English people. Perhaps this remark, too, rests only upon insufficient abstractions; I therefore do not speak of others, but only of myself, and give, as you justly ask, only a personal report.

I had not yet attended the Presbyterian worship in Scotland, and, therefore went on Sunday,

the 9th of August, to the church. The singing without an organ, was, with the aid of a small, well-trained chorus, purer than I expected. Yet I cannot approve the entire exclusion of instrumental music from a church: even here the greater part of the congregation were silent, because they could not sing; and where the whole congregation joins, the singing generally becomes a most horrible discord. At the most, the more skilful sing only two parts, and the middle parts are entirely wanting, whereas an organ fills up the blank, conceals faults, and promotes purity. It is quite an arbitrary notion to regard the employment of musical instruments as displeasing to God, or to believe that He will be more pleased with false singing than with no singing. Nobody need tell me what human voices alone can effect; as a member of the Berlin Singing Academy I know it very well. But there is only one, or at least but few institutions of this kind, and innumerable congregations without an organ, who sing incorrectly. Nor will the Academy resolve, from false devotion, to omit the instruments, when it performs in the church the great sacred compositions of Handel and Sebastian Bach.

The singing was succeeded by prayers. The clergyman made such a lamentable hippocratic face, as if he were near to death, or to martyrdom; and, quite in conformity with this countenance, he began such a drawling, monotous lamenting, sighing, and groaning, that I felt quite wretchedly uncomfortable, and my nerves, otherwise calm, were so excited, that I could scarcely remain.

Compared with this endless tapeworm of an extempore prayer, the whole English Liturgy seemed to me but the half of a sentence of a concise Spartan, broken off in the middle. The sermon was at least twice as long as a German sermon, but with a double portion of repetitions and tautologies.

* * * *

In the evening I went to Leith, the port of Edinburgh. At the extreme end of the long dike which runs into the broad bay, the Firth of Forth, I looked for a long time upon the green waves, driven up with the rising tide, across to the grey mountains—upwards to the blue sky and the richly-tinted clouds, which moved along in manifold forms. I fell into that frame of mind in which a yearning after the eternal—confidence in the divine—is combined with love to everything noble and beautiful upon earth. We feel at the same time, with the sense of our own circumscribed powers, the source of a more exalted existence. We recognise God in nature, and in the spirit created after his image: we comprehend what is most exalted, in the moment of the most profound humility, and turn our hearts, full of affection, to the distant objects of our love, and at their side pass through time, which is itself a portion of eternity!

These meditations and feelings were interrupted by a loud noise, and I turned towards a place where many persons were assembled. In the midst stood a man dressed as a civilian, with a round hat, immense whiskers, a Bible in one

hand, and his gloves in the other. "What," said he, "is the object of religion? It is to teach you not to live, but to die; not to enjoy, but to endure privation. What does it command? To die to the world—to despise it; to attach yourselves to the other world, because this world is in the clutches of Satan. You are to shut your eyes that they may not see, your ears that they may not hear; to collect your thoughts, to turn them constantly on the wrath of God, and the dreadful judgment of the last day!"

I turned away confounded from this Prophet of evil, who so entirely condemned my thoughts and feelings, which I fancied were devout, and looked again to the clouds in the sky, and the waves in the sea; but, as before, I thought the Spirit of God moved over the face of the waters, and revealed itself, and not Satan.

It grew dark, and I returned to the city. At the corner of Prince's Street there was another crowd of people, and another preacher; and sin, vengeance, punishment, death, damnation, and nothing else. Three such attacks in one day were surely enough to crush a stone! But the human mind is no stone; and Christ came into the world that it might no more be crushed, but trained in love, that in humility the greatest enjoyment might at the same time be prepared for it, and that it might be acknowledged that this world also is animated by the breath of the Omnipotent.

I hear that street eloquence of this kind is but rare, and that in general such exaggerations are not

approved of; but with all that is moral, noble, and simple in it, Puritanism yet leads to such excrescences. In my 'History of Europe' I have done it justice, as my own will, and my historical knowledge, dictated; but I feel, when I come in contact with such tendencies, no near affinity with these stoics of Judaizing Christianity. You speak, may some friends of Puritanism exclaim, of the caricature. Certainly; yet * * *

Glasgow, August 14th.

I was interrupted; and so what should have followed that *yet* may remain unwritten for this time, as I have so many other things still to relate. On the 9th of August, at three o'clock, I went from Edinburgh, by way of Linlithgow and Falkirk, to Stirling. On the left hand were pleasant hills; the land well cultivated near Falkirk; a rich prospect over very fruitful fields and meadows down to the Firth, on the left shore of which other hills rise. At Stirling I had a plain, good supper, and excellent ale. This beverage in Scotland far exceeds anything of the same name that I tasted in England; but I dislike the whisky, which I could not bring over my lips. Many Scotch people endeavoured to prove to me that theirs was the only proper mode of observing Sunday; but they owned at the same time that a great number of persons indulged too freely in whisky on that sacred day. I was obliged to give up the plan of going from Stirling by way of Calander to

the Scotch lakes, because thick fogs, which soon changed into rain, prevented any distant prospect. On the morning of the 11th of August, therefore, I proceeded from Stirling to Glasgow. The country was not remarkable; interspersed between the fields were firs, birches and heath.

Notwithstanding the northern latitude, agriculture is in a very advanced state in many parts of Scotland, partly in consequence of the long leases, and the judicious conduct of the landowners, who are sensible that excessively high rents not only ruin the tenant, but in the end do essential injury to the owner.

The great kindness and courtesy which I have hitherto everywhere enjoyed I met with also in Glasgow. Dr. James Cleland, who, by several very learned works, has thrown great light on the history and present state of the city (of which more hereafter), being himself too much engaged, induced Mr. T——, a very well-informed man, to introduce me to several manufactories and magazines. What would old Vulcan say if he were to see these immense machines pierce thick iron as if it were soft earth, and cut through iron plates, an inch thick, as if they were paper! What would please him most would probably be, that some machines wind themselves up, without, perhaps, requiring to be looked at for two days together. He would then have time to pay his court to the ladies, who seem distinguished in Glasgow for their great beauty. The machines which cut the veneer for furniture, or boards for

floors, contribute much to the pleasure and convenience of life. Without such a machine, it is impossible to give the edges of the boards, in a few seconds, such a form that they exactly fit together, never split, and always remain as smooth as glass on the broad side.

Of the cotton manufactories, which engaged most of my attention, I will give you an account when I have seen Manchester.

That part of the city of Glasgow where the trading population chiefly live is uncommonly lively; and Trongate, where I lodge, may be compared, in this respect, with Oxford Street in London. The new streets are straight; the houses of freestone; most of the public edifices, especially the Exchange, in a grand and elegant style; and many churches very happy imitations of the forms of the middle ages.

I dined with Mr. C——d, and on the following day (the 12th) this extremely obliging man was ready to accompany me to Loch Lomond; but this second attempt to visit the Scotch lakes was also defeated by fog and rain. We went in a steam-boat to Kilpatrick, Dumbarton Castle, Port Glasgow, Greenock, as far as Rossneath, but were obliged to return from that place to Glasgow. On my way to Ireland I may perhaps have an opportunity of seeing this part of the country, for a second time, in a more favourable light. Impartial persons agree that the Scotch lakes are not distinguished by the sublimity of the surrounding scenery, or varied cultivation, or beautiful country seats (like the Swiss and Italian

lakes), but rather by peaceful repose, simple, rural cultivation, hills and valleys, small islands, and copses of all kinds.

Messrs. K—— and St——g took me yesterday through the city to the cathedral, the churchyard, the university, the prisons, &c., and a splendid dinner at the house of the latter gentleman cheerfully concluded the day, after many exertions.

Of the ancient cathedrals of Scotland, only that of Glasgow was saved in the barbarous spoliation of the churches in the time of the Reformation. It is not among those of the first rank, but proves, in its loneliness, that the Puritans possessed greater powers in destroying than in building up, and that the enthusiasm of those times often degenerated into fanaticism. John Knox, whose statue is near this spot in the churchyard, turns his back upon the cathedral, as if he was vexed that it does not also lie in ruins and ashes.

Of all the professors of the universities whom I wished to see not one was in town; and what I heard from others respecting the institution, confirmed the idea that the Scotch universities partly supply the place of our gymnasia. If among us the number of teachers in a university is not unfrequently injudiciously increased, by too small demands upon their knowledge, and previous experience, in Scotland, on the other hand, a system of monopoly is too observable, where for every science (and not even for every one) there is only one professor, without any competition.

The Bridewell in this city, under the management of Mr. William Brebner, is distinguished in many particulars, especially by its cheapness. The accounts of the whole institution for the year, from the 2nd of August, 1834 to 1835, are printed with laudable brevity on a small card. There were, on an average, 175 men, 163 women daily in the prison, and each, on an average, remained there sixty days. After deducting the profit arising from the labour, the whole institution cost, in that year, only 400*l.* Nay, the value of the labour exceeded the expenditure for the support of all the prisoners, by 592*l.* If I divide the sum wanting for the whole of the establishment for the prisoners, each of them costs, for the average time of his imprisonment, about 4*s.*, or for each prisoner, 3½*d.* per week in addition: if, in consideration of extraordinary expenses, which occur only from time to time, we increase this sum even to 8*d.* or 10*d.*, the disbursement is excessively small, especially if we compare it with the enormous expenses of the English prisons. But, on the other hand, the prisoners must labour twelve hours a-day, and receive, indeed, wholesome and sufficient food, but by no means of an expensive kind. For breakfast, oatmeal porridge, buttermilk, or table-beer; for dinner, barley-broth, bread, and vegetables, but no meat; in the evening, only those who are imprisoned for a longer time, and conduct themselves well, have bread and milk, or bread and cheese. The silent system is not in use, but solitary confinement is

found to have a good effect, and is considered as a severe punishment. The women's cells contain each 462 cubic feet; the men's cells, 630 cubic feet. Of 326 prisoners, 143 could indeed read, but scarcely half of them could understand any thing read aloud; 52 could neither read nor write. Of 813 persons of the male sex, 222 were under 17 years of age; of 864 females, 68 were below 17. By far the greater part of the sentences were for two months' imprisonment. Provision is made for religious edification and instruction; in every cell there is a bible, and some moral book from the library of the establishment. Among 2176 arrests, 744 were for theft, 430 disorderly women (guilty besides of assaults and breaches of the peace), 372 breaches of the peace, beggars, vagabonds, &c.; 142 soldiers for military offences, instead of corporal punishment; 118 persons for keeping disorderly houses; 5 for cruelty to children and desertion, &c., &c.

The austerity and rigour with which the criminals are treated, but which in no manner approaches to cruelty, must tend to diminish crime, while the English system is attended with the defects which I have often pointed out.

Every advance in human affairs has likewise its dark side; but a continued increase of the population must certainly be considered as an advantage, for it is, in fact, nothing else than the increase of intellect and its dominion over matter.

The following particulars respecting the increase of the population of Glasgow are taken

from Dr. Cleland's admirable statistical tables. It amounted, in round numbers, in

1560	. .	4,500 souls
1708	. .	12,700 „
1740	. .	17,000 „
1763	. .	28,000 „
1785	. .	45,000 „
1791	. .	60,000 „
1801	. .	83,000 „
1822	. .	147,000 „
1830	. .	202,000 „

In 1822,	there were	.	5624 births
1830	„	.	6868 „
1822	„	.	1470 marriages
1830	„	.	1919 „
1822	„	.	3690 deaths
1830	„	.	5185 „

In 1830 there were, in round numbers,

1 death to 39 souls,
1 birth to 29 „
1 marriage to 105 „

To one family $3\frac{1}{2}$ births, and $4\frac{3}{4}$ souls.

In the manufactories, coal-mines, stone-quarries, and ships belonging to Glasgow, there are 363 steam-engines, with 7366-horse power. Cotton-spinning was introduced in 1725, and gradually increased to an astonishing degree. For example,—

In 1818	were used	46,000 bales,
1828	„	74,000 „
1834	„	95,000 „

in which were employed 2394-horse power by steam-engines, and 520-horse power by water.

Here, as everywhere else, steam takes the lead of water. 17,949 persons were employed in these cotton factories, of whom 756 boys, and 895 girls, were below the age of thirteen; 1045 of the male sex, and 3702 of the female sex, between the ages of thirteen and eighteen. The machinery for this branch of industry has been gradually and most astonishingly improved, so that the most rapid looms can now make 140 throws in one minute. The number of all the looms in and about Glasgow is 47,000, of which 15,000 in the city alone are worked by steam.

To these remarks I will add some miscellaneous information from Dr. Cleland's account of Glasgow. The University was founded in the year 1451; the chancellor, who holds the situation for life, is chosen by the senate; and the rector, who is appointed every year, by the dean, the professors, and the matriculated students. These are divided into four nations, having four votes. How greatly this university, as *universitas* of all the sciences, is inferior to even the smallest in Germany, is sufficiently evident from the circumstance that there is but one single professor for the whole faculty of jurisprudence, and extraordinary professors are altogether unknown. History, geography, political economy and finance are not professed at all. On these subjects, observed a person lately, there are printed books, which would be an argument for doing away with all oral instruction. It is certain that oral instruction is no longer so important and neces-

sary as in earlier ages; but it by no means follows that universities and professorships ought to be abolished. As these latter are not so profitable as cotton manufactories and coal mines, they must, with or without oral instruction, be continued and paid, that science, the heaven-descended Goddess, may not, as the poet says, 'be devoured by the more profitable milch-cows.' Without foundations of this kind, the most zealous friend of a science is often compelled to renounce it, and follow more substantial modes of gain, not to die of famine. If the King of Prussia really cherished the enmity towards history which Lord Brougham is so good as to ascribe to him and to other princes, I should not have seen Rome, Naples, Paris, London, and Glasgow, but have been obliged to read and compile legal documents to my life's end. 'Honour, therefore, to whom honour is due.'

The first newspaper was printed in Glasgow in 1715. The first library opened in 1753. Very large sums have been accumulated by voluntary contributions, and legacies, for the poor and charitable foundations. The number of poor, out of 202,000 inhabitants, amounted in round numbers to 5000, who were maintained for 17,280*l*. A part of this poverty has certainly arisen from drinking, for the number of gin-shops in Glasgow has so increased by thoughtless applying for and giving licenses, that there is one such shop to every twelve families. I am more and more convinced that the mode of observing Sunday, which prohibits all cheerful

and intellectual amusements in the British empire, impels the people to this most disgusting, merely sensual, excitement. The people, it is said, after hearing two sermons, shall read edifying books at home. What does that mean, they *shall ?* Are 1393 crowded gin-shops, in one town, the places where this *shall*—this categorical imperative—is carried into effect?

However this be, the English, as it seems to me, corrupt their taste in three ways, or cannot acquire it. First, with respect to delicate food, by the pepper and excessively strong mustard, both of which every way predominate, and blunt the palate. Secondly, with respect to fine wines; for, after drinking port and sherry, which is mixed with brandy, it is impossible to distinguish what comes after. Thirdly, the wholly unmusical Sunday is sufficient to make all musical feeling and education impossible, and to convert the English into an unmusical people. The pains that some individuals take in learning to sing and play on the piano has no influence on the mass; and a loom drowns by its noise more musical feeling than can be awakened by solfeggi. I cannot say how much I feel the want of music here in England. Not only the rogues are compelled to be silent in their prison, but the whole nation is silent, in a musical sense; and what the English Church warmly opposed in the seventeenth century, is now considered by it as a palladium of good morals and good taste.

I return to Glasgow. The river and harbour-

dues, which in 1771 amounted to 1021*l.*, had risen in 1835 to 31,000*l.*; and the most useful works, and deepening of the harbour, had been effected, to the great advantage of navigation. It was on the 18th January, 1812, that the first European steam-boat went from Glasgow to Greenock. On an average above 900 persons are daily conveyed by steam-boats in all directions. In the last year the number of passengers in ships, boats, and carriages amounted to more than one million and a-half.

Dublin, 17th August.

As the weather continued gloomy and rainy without any interruption, I was obliged to give up all thoughts of visiting the Scotch lakes and islands. Three attempts evinced my good will, but I should merely have lost time and seen nothing. After Messrs. C——d, St——g, and K——r had again given every possible proof of their readiness to serve me, I embarked at Glasgow on the 14th of August, at two in the afternoon, and reached Belfast on the noon of the following day. The sea was very rough, and the waves lifted up their long, white crests, but most fortunately I got to land without any feeling of sickness. Belfast is a large and bustling city, which carries on a commerce with many parts of the globe. The Rev. Mr. M——, with whom I had a good deal of conversation on board the steam-boat, referred me to his friend the Rev. Mr. H——; but our time was too short for further intercourse. On Sunday morning, the 16th, I got on the outside of the

stage, secured a back seat to avoid the effects of the sun and wind, and arrived at Gresham's Hotel, in Dublin, at five in the evening. I immediately hastened to the Prussian Consul, Mr. W——, where I found two letters from you which assured me of your welfare.

LETTER LXII.

Ireland—Distress—Orangemen—Intolerance—Reform—Dublin—Clonmel—Kilkenny—Calne—Early History—Cork—Misery—Beauty of the Irish Women.

Cork, 19th August:

To-day, on the anniversary of your birth-day, dear Herman, I have reached nearly the remotest point of my journey; our thoughts, however, doubtless meet in affection and regard. May you continue to proceed blameless in the career of life, improve your mind and heart more and more, and lead a life as rich as possible in every enjoyment that active virtue can bestow. You have only twice caused me the greatest apprehensions, once when you were ill, and at the point of death in Dobrau; and when I was not able to find you in the night on a road in France. Otherwise, I have never had reason to complain of you, and you certainly not of me. So may it continue till death parts us in this world!

I am much in arrear with my accounts, for I had no time, especially quiet hours in the morning, to write anything; add to this, that I have in my head so much, both general and special, so much that is personal, that I do not know where to begin, or how to make any orderly arrangement. Well, if it cannot be reduced to order, let all be mingled together as it flows from the pen. Go on.

All my plans to visit the lakes in Scotland were defeated, as I have already told you, by the unfavourable weather; however, I was able to see the two banks of the Clyde. The river and bay, before you sail from Greenock southwards to Ireland, close in such a manner, that you fancy you are sailing on an extensive lake surrounded with cultivated hills.

The time that I saved in Scotland I determined to employ in Ireland, because this much-talked-of country has become doubly remarkable in our days, and it is scarcely possible to decide, without ocular demonstration, which of the opposed opinions and assertions are correct. The following is my route:—Belfast, Lisburn, Newry, Dundalk, Drogheda, Dublin, Naas, Carlow, Kilkenny, Clonmel, Clogheen, Fermoy, Cork, Killarney (the Lakes), Limerick, and back to Dublin.

The Bay of Belfast, with its green hills and environs, the city with its shipping and activity, excite a favourable opinion of Ireland, and (to begin with a consolatory declaration) there is no doubt that Ireland has, in general, made great progress in improvements, if we compare it with its condition in former centuries, with respect to legislation, manufactures, agriculture, &c. But that, for this reason, there is nothing more to be done, and that every complaint is unfounded or merely produced by excitement, can be affirmed only by persons who know nothing, or will know nothing, of Ireland. A country of such extent has, of course, barren, stony, or marshy tracts; nor is Ireland distinguished as one of the most

picturesque parts of Europe; but, on the whole, it is fertile, perhaps more fertile than England, and as beautiful as La Belle France. The first thing that strikes you is, that close to the finest and richest fields of wheat, barley, oats, potatoes, and clover, there are other adjoining tracts wholly uncultivated, overgrown with high weeds; that an equally fruitful soil here manifests the highest cultivation and activity, and there the greatest neglect and abandonment. There is no want of good soil or of agricultural knowledge, nor of industry; there are so many hands, that the Irish emigrate by hundreds to work for very low wages. Whence, then, does this happen? The whole clearly points to the centre of all the evil,—to a defective, nay, a ruinous and condemnable legislation. Let us, however, proceed step by step, otherwise you might believe that I sought only to introduce pathetic declamations as a cover for falsehood or partiality.

Why does not the Irishman cultivate his land? Because he has none. Why does not the landlord employ those under him?—Because there is no landlord there.

If we take two steps, but with seven-leagued boots, we are at once on the summit of the naked rock from which we can overlook the whole misery of Ireland. Let us begin our considerations, as is fitting, with the Lords. Where are they? They are absentees,—they are absent. No, not absent, for he who is absent intends to return to a home which he loves, where he grew up, and which he doubly values after having seen many

countries and nations. An Irish absentee, on the contrary, is one who neglects his country,—who never visits it, nor intends to do so. He has no home, and desires none. This is the hereditary curse of the ancient dreadful confiscation. Violence gave them land, but with the mode of acquisition the avenging Nemesis joins the condition that it should never become their fatherland. But he who possesses land without loving it as a fatherland loses the noblest foundation for property, and there remains only the dead letter of the law,—and here in Ireland what is the law?

Public law and private law both equally require prescription; and no man can be farther than I am from desiring to stifle life, as it at present exists, in order to find, somewhere or other, an original germ of all life, and of a pretended eternal law. But as great sovereigns have been obliged to sanctify the defective origin of their new position by a praiseworthy system of government, or go to ruin, the landlords of Ireland who first intruded, and then absented themselves, are doubly bound to remain there, and to promote the interest of the country. Where only one performs this condition, I saw walls, fences, and hedges in good condition; plantations formed; the land free from weeds; the houses, at all events, kept in better repair, and the people rather better clothed, &c. And then, close by, what a contrast! Let him who would see the blessings of a well-disposed resident aristocracy in a few single instances, and the curse of an absent oligarchy in innumerable places, go to Ireland.

This is so fortunate a circumstance in our country, that the great landowners devote themselves more and more to agriculture, love their occupation, promote every improvement, and, directly or indirectly, exercise a salutary influence over the free peasantry. Here, on the contrary, the great landowners too often despise the country, agriculture, and people. The whole wisdom of their improvements is to squeeze more and more from the tenants-at-will. Instead of living in noble activity in the Emerald Isle, they idle away their existence in the arid, grey Provence, or sentimentalize about the beggars in Itri and Fondi, while hundreds of beggars are produced in Ireland by the harshness of their principles.

No other country can, in this respect, be compared with Ireland. Everywhere some wealthy persons travel, everywhere there are some individuals who seek a home abroad. But here the exception has become the rule, and measures which, in other places, appear not only superfluous, but absurd, here urge themselves as almost necessary through the power of circumstances.

The landowner *will* do nothing for the cultivation of the soil. The tenant *can* do nothing. Capital and credit are everywhere wanting. Only the industry of the tenants raises the rich harvest; but in the midst of an abundance which does not belong to them, they perish from misery and famine.

How shall I translate tenants-at-will? *Vegjagbare? Expellable?* Serfs? But, in the ancient days of vassalage, it consisted rather in keeping the

vassals attached to the soil, and by no means in driving them away. An ancient vassal is a lord compared with the present tenant-at-will, to whom the law affords no defence. Why not call them *Jagdbare* (*chaseable?*). But this difference lessens the analogy,—that for hares, stags, and deer there is a season, during which no one is allowed to hunt them; whereas tenants-at-will are hunted, and may be hunted, all the year round. And if any one would defend his farm (as badgers and foxes are allowed to do) it is here denominated rebellion.

But I hear it objected,—have we not a right? Do we violate any law if we live where we like; if we take from the tenants what they freely offer; and treat them according to the law, if they do not keep their engagement? Undoubtedly, you have a right, a perfect right; as much right as Shylock had to exact from Antonio the pound of flesh, and drain the life-blood from his heart. *Fiat justicia et pereat mundus* is the whole code of your laws. True justice, however, is not destructive, but conservative, and includes (as Plato shows) wisdom and moderation. True justice distributes, but does not plunder; and if any doubt could be entertained upon the subject, the Christian virtues step forward, and show how your heathenish Roman justice is to be purified. *Summum jus, summa injuria!*

Killarney, Friday, August 21*st*, 1835.

I have commenced with general observations. This is not unnatural, for in Ireland everything

individual immediately leads to generalities, and both are evidently connected. In England the case is similar, but yet different. There I see (at least *hitherto*) in the great and prominent contrasts, only the living forms of constant development; and the stupid or fanatic cries of some individuals have but slightly impeded the regular progress of the whole. But in Ireland, those great and animating contrasts are changed into inextricable, destructive conflicts. In the same manner as the bases of the life of a people, namely, agriculture, and the means of subsistence in general, so it is with the summit of all thought and existence,—namely, religion.

Could Philip II. have conceived a more mortifying disgrace for his great opponent, than that which he now experiences in Ireland—that the Protestant union, which has adopted the intolerant principles of that tyrant, is called the *Orange Association?* As far back as the sixteenth century, William I. opposed, with equal energy and superiority, the fanaticism of the Catholics, and of the Puritan image-breakers: shall we of the nineteenth century consent to remain behind him? Somebody objects,—it is not William I., but William III., that we are talking of. I am well aware of this, and believe that I more duly honour that great man, than those who abuse his great name in Ireland. He began to reign in England three years after the cruel expulsion of the Protestants from France, and in the same year when *tolerance* was used by James II. as an excuse for intolerant measures. To prevent this in Eng-

land was the first business for 1688; the greater business of his whole life, in which all Europe was concerned, was the contest with France, or the ambition and tyranny of Louis XIV. And you would measure such a man by your own petty standard, and explain and justify the present state of things by the very different circumstances of those times? The intolerant laws of those days did not originate with William, but with the Whigs; and the Whigs of our times must do much more for Ireland than they yet have done, before they can atone for the sins of their ancestors.

On the other hand, no Orangeman must complain that his name is misused by the Orange Lodges, as the Catholics, in their associations, misuse even the name of *Christ*. Thus religion, which should produce and strengthen charity and unanimity, is here the source of hatred and dissension; and both parties, in their infatuation, equally persuade themselves that they are proceeding in the true Christian course. Those noble-minded men, therefore, deserve a double portion of praise, who boldly speak and act, against party prejudices and party hatred, in favour of toleration and reconciliation. The absurd notion, which has been refuted for centuries, by theory and practice, that Ireland can be governed only by a party and by the sword, still haunts the imagination of many persons who fancy themselves statesmen. A Protestant lately argued with me on the necessity and advantage of a civil war, with as much composure as if he

were speaking of having his coat brushed; and the extirpation of the heretics is the natural counter-cry of the Catholics. Who is to blame? Both parties! But, above all, the lawgivers—the Parliament! A whole century passed before even private rights were granted to the Catholics, and with what reluctance was each concession made; in what an offensive, ungracious manner were even the most equitable demands contested, till defiance and power extorted them!

At length the emancipation was brought about in this manner, and the opponents of it sought and found consolation in the declaration, that it was a final measure for Ireland. I repeat it,—those must know nothing, or resolve to know nothing, of Ireland, who can entertain so erroneous an opinion. The emancipation was only the first of a whole series of measures which will and must follow. It was an act of justice which, however, is immediately advantageous only to a few; but it is the right and the business of these few to employ their newly-gained position for the benefit of their country. What avails the stale joke of O'Connell and his tail?—if you do not like it, cut it off, and dissolve the Union, as he requires.

You will ask if I entertain this opinion? By no means! The three kingdoms may and ought to live in union, like sisters. But if Ireland is treated like a step-sister, do not be surprised at the cry of distress which your injustice extorts from her. A person who has never seen Ireland, and considers the case merely in a general and

theoretical point of view, must decide without hesitation against the dissolution of the Union. But he who is better acquainted with it conceives how well-disposed persons may rely on this sheet-anchor, and consider it as the only, the best remedy. I now excuse the demand, without approving it. This erroneous hope, this false confidence, will, however, not be dispelled till more wholesome laws are passed for Ireland than O'Connell himself required. I carry my demands beyond his, according to the example of him whom he himself calls the greatest reformer in Europe.

Firstly: Provision must be equally made for the schools and churches of the Protestants and Catholics, out of the church property already existing or to be created. If there is no surplus of the Protestant church property, other measures are necessary: if it is insufficient, it will soon appear that this grant cannot be the last. Neither the sword, nor civil war, but education and Christian charity alone, can exterminate hatred and barbarism.

Secondly: The tithes must be by some means abolished, for they are a bad mode of taxation. A change in the manner of raising the tax does not, however, abolish the tax itself. To deprive the church of its due, and to make a present of it, without any reason, to the landlord, would not only be an act of injustice, but might, perhaps, in the end, render the situation of the poor tenants worse, rather than better: for the clergyman had not so many means to distrain and drive off

the cattle, as the temporal landlord; and he was, perhaps, more often averse to employ them than the latter.

Thirdly: Poor laws are indispensably necessary for Ireland. I scarcely conceive how O'Connell could so long oppose their introduction, merely because he saw the abuses that occurred in England from their misapplication. These abuses must be done away with, and only what is truly useful must be ordered. But if such a law is more necessary in Ireland than in any other country in Europe, it is likewise more difficult. More *necessary*, because nobody takes any care of the poor, the number of whom exceeds all belief; more *difficult*, because a wealthy middling class is wanting, which is the broad, indispensable foundation of all financial arrangements. In the towns, which are improving, it may be possible to overcome the difficulties; but how can it be done in the country, where *all* appear to be beggars? We are, therefore,—

Fourthly, compelled to make a law respecting the absentees. This, exclaim many, is as impossible as unjust. What then is impossible or unjust? Is it impossible for a man to live in his own country?—unjust for him to perform his duty there? As the king, the clergyman, the professor, the merchant, must be upon the spot where they are called to exercise their functions, so should the landowner. All may absent themselves, gain information, and return. It is one of the many false notions of private property, that it imposes on the landowner no duties, but grants

him unconditional rights. Where is the title-deed by which a few oligarchs are allowed to convert a whole people into beggars?—to deprive them of all possibility of existing as becomes human beings? I would not, however, compel them to return home, but leave them all personal liberty. I would not alter the laws of inheritance, by which a very great change would be made in the several relations. I will only tax them, as those who are present (I see this clearly) tax themselves here, for the good of those who surround them, and are active in promoting their advantage. Let the absentee, therefore, pay more to the poor-tax than he who is present. Is this also impossible? Have not the Catholics borne for centuries higher taxes than the Protestants? This was possible, *without reason*; and, therefore, the other would be very possible, *with good reason*. After so much that has been considered as revolutionary, as impossible, have we come to the end of the course? By no means. All these measures are only preliminary preparations for greater things.

Let us suppose all the complaints respecting churches, schools, tithes, absentees, the poor are removed, the mass of the people still remain in the most wretched situation; for the poor-law can comprehend only the aged, the sick, lame, blind, &c., not the able-bodied men, and the former are not a thousandth part of those who are actually in distress. What then shall we do with the nine hundred and ninety-nine?

Thus we at last come to the point where, per-

haps, a final measure is to be taken for the happiness and prosperity of Ireland; at least, without this, all others would be palliative remedies, and the complaints, sufferings, and wrongs will continue unremovable. This measure is—

Fifthly, The complete abolition of the system of tenants at will, and the conversion of all these tenants at will into proprietors. On reading this, the Tories will throw my book into the fire; and even the Whigs will be mute with astonishment. The whole battery of pillage, jacobinism, dissolution of civil society, is discharged at me; but it will not touch me—not even the assertion that I would, like St. Crispin, "steal leather, in order to make shoes for the poor." Even the Radicals ask, with astonishment, how I would work this miracle. There is a Sibylline book, a patent and yet hidden mystery, how this is to be effected; and there is a magician who has accomplished it—the Prussian municipal law, and King Frederick William III. of Prussia.

To repel those violent reproaches, I could find in my armoury other arguments and proofs how, precisely through the system attacked by me, revolutions are promoted and civil societies dissolved. To-day, however, I have neither time nor inclination to enter upon these partly theoretical discussions; I will rather, in order to allay peoples' apprehensions, grant in practice that my proposal ought to be rejected, unless both parties are gainers.

The ancient doctrine that, in trade and commerce, in custom-house laws, treaties of peace,

&c., only one party can and ought to gain, and that the greatest wisdom consists in deceiving and cheating the other party,—this doctrine of short-sighted selfishness is repudiated by every judicious philanthropist, and has been satisfactorily refuted in theory and practice. Unless both parties gain, there must be want of prudence, or of justice, or both together, and the merited punishment never fails to follow.

As all maintain that those who were raised to the class of landowners would gain very much, I may save myself the trouble of proving it, and put aside a subsequent question,—what new dangers may one day threaten them as proprietors? But that the present proprietors must likewise gain, results from the indisputable truth, that, in the long run, the tenant-at-will is able to produce and to pay less than he who has a long lease, the latter less than the hereditary farmer, and the hereditary farmer less than the proprietor. I will not here repeat what I have already said on this subject in my letter on English agriculture; till pains are taken in England to become acquainted with our laws on this subject, it is impossible to make oneself understood, and to form a correct judgment, either in praise or blame.

But to those who, in our country, are displeased with the whole, on account of some defects, or who, from ignorance, overlook the value of our reforms, or, out of ancient prejudices, wish for the return of greater evils,—to them I exclaim, "Go to Ireland! in order to perceive with horror the consequences of an intolerant, barbarous

legislation, and to bless the progress of improvement in Prussia."

Ireland is the most deplorable instance in modern history that a great and noble people may, for centuries together, be involved in the same injustice and infatuation; and all the highly-praised forms of the constitution be often paralyzed by the force of passion and prejudice. Kings, lords, and commons have alternately or simultaneously wronged Ireland; how should humanity, mildness, and obedience to the laws proceed from such education? What all the forms of the constitution denied, what even now the boldest minds in England conceive to be impossible, our kings have accomplished, for schools, churches, cities, towns, peasants, landed property, trade, tolls, military institutions, &c., and laid the basis of a freedom of which Ireland, if no quicker progress is made, will be destitute for centuries to come. Our kings were effectually seconded by the persons in office, in whom the highest degree of civilization and knowledge is concentrated, and will be so, while they are not changed into servants removable at pleasure. The people everywhere co-operated, with correct judgment and good-will, and all reap, besides the advantages they have gained at home, daily more praise from impartial observers abroad. We are not vain on this account; we know (as I have often said) that one kind of bark does not grow on all trees; but a tree of liberty, without bark, is, and remains, a dry stick, though I deck it with ribbons of one or of many colours.

Limerick, August 22nd, 1835.

You are, doubtless, tired of these reflections, and ask for my own travelling observations. Very well. Yet they will sound almost the same strings. In Belfast, some figures passed me in the evening, attired as I had never seen any. In England I had looked almost in vain for poverty; and in Scotland I found only, according to the custom of the country, some women and children barefooted. There was, therefore, in Belfast a carnival joke, or some had plundered a paper-mill, and, in their wantonness, displayed all the rags in tokens of victory. Lisburn and Newry, two thriving towns, seemed to confirm my hypothesis; and the distressed appearance of Drogheda I connected with the ancient misdeeds of that hypocrite of liberty—Cromwell.

On the river Boyne a new feeling came over me. Germany justly considers the victory of William III. as a happy event, as a deliverance from a foreign yoke. But can the Irish participate in this opinion, so long as the yoke of the laws connected with it is not removed? They fought, under Charles I., for that which is now considered as legitimate and conservative; and yet Charles II. confirmed the confiscations of the republic, which were not confined to the leading chiefs, but extended to the wholly innocent tenants. By this title-deed, the Conservatives of our day prove that no Irishman has a right to the soil of his country; but that the absentee possesses it exclusively, and without modification, to all eternity. Under James II., the Irish again

fought for what was legitimate and conservative; and, for that reason, the Conservative Tories, at present, will have nothing to do with them. The Whigs, on the other hand, say—very late, indeed, yet they do say—*Pater, peccavi.*

Dublin.—A large city: the streets like those in the west end of London; the public buildings in a good style, apparently all agreeing, and of one piece. I say *apparently*, for the English, Scotch, and Irish, the Catholic and Protestant, come here in too hostile collision to grow up, and blend, and flourish together; and to this painful feeling were added scenes such as I never beheld. On Sunday, while crowds of well-dressed people gaily paraded the streets, they were thronged by equally numerous crowds of beggars—and what beggars were these! Such spectres remain elsewhere in their dens, till the light of day has vanished, and the darkness of night has set in. Here the sun must testify that Europe, too, has its parias. No, not Europe, but Ireland alone! —for, compared with these miserable phantoms, all the beggary that I saw in Switzerland, the Papal dominions, and even in southern Italy, was a mere trifle.

On Monday the 17th, the son of our consul, Mr. W——, very politely took me about the city; and invited me to dine with him in a very agreeable party, where many Irish matters were considered and discussed, in the point of view which prevails here. How different is this point of view from that in Germany!

On my way to Mr. W——, I saw, at a distance,

a crowd of people: I thought I should see another street-preacher; it was, however, no Scotch edification, but, as somebody told me, an Irish amusement. Two fellows, stripped to the waist, were engaged in a combat, not like the noble Greeks in Olympia, or even like well-trained boxers, but a desperate buffeting. After they had beaten each other black and blue, were covered with blood and half flayed, one of them fell almost senseless into the kennel. To take him by the arms and legs, lay him on a dry spot, pull his mouth open, pour in half a quart of whisky, and throw a pail of water over his body, was the work of a minute. Then the furious adversaries were again set upon each other like mad dogs; at the same time, the seconds, or *maîtres des plaisirs,* displayed incessant and astonishing activity. In order to clear the ground, they struck the spectators with large whips, so that nobody in the three first rows escaped without the severest cuts, one of which I should not have got over in four weeks. Here it seemed to make no more impression than when, among us, somebody says, "Be so good as stand a little on one side."

On Tuesday the 18th, in hopes of fine weather, I mounted the roof of the coach, and not to have the wind and sun in my face, chose the backward seat at the back of the coach. On my right hand was an old woman; opposite to her, her grand-daughter; and next to the latter, another woman, about thirty years of age, and her son. Only the place on my left hand was still vacant;

and now a man mounted the ladder, so dressed, that the expression "dropped from the gallows" might have been very well applied to him; and he certainly would have been refused admittance on any German stage. On the supposition that the man was well skilled in entomology, I drew as closely as possible to the old lady, my neighbour. *Mutantur tempora, et nos mutamur in illis.* The sky became clouded, it began to rain faster and faster, and my large umbrella was the only one in the company; so the two younger persons crouched at our feet, and the other four put their faces so close to the stick of the umbrella, that their noses almost met; in particular, the head of the old woman rested on my right, and that of the gentleman on my left, shoulder. Through this water ordeal we became in a very short time friends and acquaintances, and I reaped much praise for my civility and humanity.

The cultivation of the land, as I have already observed, was of a mixed character—here admirable, and there neglected. The Wicklow and Wexford mountains adorn the county on the side. At Kilkenny there is an old castle, and innumerable beggars. My second hypothesis, that only the capital could produce such beggars, was likewise refuted by the crowds in the small towns. The coach is besieged by them, and their cries resound from all sides, and in all gradations of old and young voices. In order to gain air and room, I threw from my elevated seat some pence among the crowd. Two girls, about eighteen years of age, had picked up the best

share, and thanked me, like the female dancers at Berlin, when they are applauded by the public, kicking up their legs behind—what is to be seen on such occasions you know: there is a difference here, the costume of the fair of Kilkenny being in a more airy style. I was in a mood to be diverted at all this, when I saw a mother pick up the gooseberry skins which one of the travellers had spit out, and put them into the mouth of her child. I never saw any thing like this even at Fondi, in the kingdom of Naples.

"Is there room on the top?" asked a man. Though we were crowded, the coachman called out, "An excellent place—the finest fresh air!" The man ascended the ladder, seated himself on the pyramid of trunks, with both his legs hanging in the fresh air; but this position appearing to him too dangerous, he turned one leg inwards, and planted it between my shoulders. This was lucky for me, for he covered the iron edge of a trunk; and instead of a hole in my coat, I got only a spot of dirt.

Callen.—A wretched hole, which its owner (Lord C——, as I hear), probably for that reason, never visits; but all round are the most fertile fields, and the richest produce. By fami is everywhere understood, want of a sufficiency of corn. In Ireland the people are starving in the midst of abundance. It is exported to Liverpool, where compassionate Englishmen purchase it, send it back to Ireland for the indigent, and procure them, in insufficient quantities, what perverse and hard-hearted legislators refuse them on a large scale.

The evening and night of the 18th I passed at Clonmel. For the first time, I saw in the inn no carpets, and a ragged towel, but a larger and better bed than anywhere in Germany. It is only in our country that the erroneous notion prevails, that a man has no more need to turn in bed than in his coffin: hence the wretched, narrow cribs into which all classes suffer themselves to be squeezed.

On Wednesday, the 19th, Hermann's birthday, when I went down stairs in the morning, profound peace reigned among the persons assembled in the room on the ground-floor. God knows what spark fell into this powder-barrel; for at once there was such a storm of punches in the ribs, blows, and boxes on the ear, which succeeded each other so rapidly, and in such numbers, that it was impossible to see and count them. Two minutes afterwards, perfect tranquillity again prevailed. This amusement of the Catholics in Clonmel, and the Protestants in Dublin, show at least that there are some similar points of contact between the two parties.

* * * *

The coach stopped, early in the morning, before a hut, which, if you please, you may call a house. A sow—the Irish sphinx—lay with her hind quarters buried in black mud, while she rested on her fore feet, and addressed me in a very remarkable speech. The house-cock flew from within to the hole in the mud wall, the only window in the house, and attempted to clap his wings. The hole being too small, he was obliged

to drop them, stretched his neck, and said something, which I did not understand so well as the speech of the sow: at the same time the door opened, and, like Alceste from the gloom of Erebus, the very strikingly draped, or undraped, mistress advanced into the foreground with her two children, on which two sucking pigs immediately ran to salute their playfellows. This scene of the golden age drew my attention so much, that I had nearly overlooked the master of the house, who was sitting on one side upon some fragments of turf. In attempting to put on his breeches, he had unhappily missed the legitimate way, and had passed his leg through a large, revolutionary, radical hole, so that he found it very difficult to remedy the mistake, still keeping the rags together.

I hope that some of our painters in this line will make use of these hints in the next exhibition, and know how to give dignity to the subject; and send me at least a copy of their works, in return for my picturesque description.

But what said the sow? Things bitter, unexpected, remarkable. She began—"Wretched mortal, who hang suspended between Heaven and earth, as on the gallows, if you came down I would let you know what punishment you deserve, for disturbing the last prophetic sphinx of Ireland in her repose. You ramble about the world to no purpose, rummage among old papers treating of old women, and pride yourself in your stupid impartiality. Why do you direct your eyes to the wretched creatures who here call

themselves men, and have no notion what a greater people deserve your attention in Ireland—the people, the swine?"

I know not how the sphinx might have continued, had not the cock, the woman, and the sucking pigs interrupted her. She only added a few words to inform me (as a reward for my good-will, of which she was well aware) of the existence of the most remarkable fragment of the history of ancient times, and where I might find it.

This fragment contains (after the manner of Persia) the annals of the state of the swine, and is divided into two principal heads, the times of the *Boaries* and the *Pigs*. In the sequel, vain men (like the Roman consuls and emperors) applied these names to themselves; but being ignorant of their origin, have corrupted them, by means of absurd etymologies, into *Tories* and *Whigs*. In ancient times, those, the boars or boaries were the sole lords and masters of the country: it was the time of noble freedom and independence, till weak and degenerate descendants stigmatized it as an age of club or snout law, and gave this first heroic age the name of *Wild Swinery*. I cannot give to-day the eventful history of this feudal aristocracy, but pass at once to the time when the *Pigs* appeared as a second party, and *Piggism*, or *Tame Swinery*, found greater and more numerous advocates.

This happened in the following manner: when the race of men, who call themselves, by way of distinction, the Old Irish, came to the island, a dreadful struggle began between them and the

boars, the ancient rulers of the land. The increasing distress and danger suggested the idea of entering into an agreement, and of concluding a perpetual peace. Deputies of both parties met, and drew up a convention, of which I select the following articles as the most important:—

1. The boars, who have hitherto lived in the woods, shall be received with their families into the houses of the Irish, and be treated like children of the house.

2. From the moment that the peace is concluded, no boar shall be bound to do any work, or take the least care to provide for his own subsistence. All are, on the contrary, resolved to devote themselves henceforward to a contemplative mode of life.

3. If there should not be provisions enough, the swine are to be first taken care of, and then the children.

4. For all these great advantages, and others, which are passed over for the sake of brevity, the Irish obtain the right of *slaughtering* their new inmates.

When these conditions came to be discussed in the house of the boars, the majority (composed of the old wild forest boars) opposed the last objectionable article in particular with so much warmth and eloquence, that the treaty was rejected by a large majority, and it was resolved to make no change in the state of things handed down from their ancestors. Meantime, the war with the Irish took a very unfavourable turn; and the pigs, the advocates of reform, adduced more powerful arguments

in support of their opinion. They detailed the advantages of improved civilization; of constant peace; of exemption from the cares of life; of agreeable society; and of a philosophic mode of existence, with so much ingenuity and eloquence, that in the new diet which was convoked, the boaries themselves could not deny the weight of the argument. The *fourth* article alone was still violently opposed: then one of the most eloquent of the pigs rose, and incontrovertibly proved that all swine, whether wild or tame, must die; that the time of death was uncertain, and lasted but a moment; that, on the other hand, the whole life would derive new and increased value by the proposed change from boarism to piggism. Lastly, that there was no ground for the apprehension that the tame swine were threatened with an earlier death, for even the wild sucking-pigs were not spared; and to die in youth, before the sufferings of age and disease, was a great happiness, as the poets had proved, and sung in the cases of Achilles, Balder, and Siegfried, which are also applicable to tame swine.

When the boaries saw that the pigs triumphed, those who were called ultra-bories withdrew to the country and the forests; and the convention, which founded and confirmed the new tame swinery, was carried by a great majority. Only two additional articles were proposed by the pigs, and acceded to by the Irish: first, the slaughtering shall be only at that time of the year when life is a burden, namely, winter: secondly, the pigs are free to squeak when they are slaughtered, and

this shall not be considered as a want of the old heroic courage, but rather as the dying song of the swine.

This treaty was observed for centuries to the satisfaction of both parties, till in later times a change took place, which materially affected the Irish. The English, a new victorious race of men (passionately fond of the literal interpretation, and the maintenance of rights and laws) discovered that it was stated in the original convention, that the Irish had a right to *kill* the swine, but it was not added that they had a right to *eat* pork. Thus it has been brought about by various means that the Irish dare not eat meat, but must send it to Liverpool, where all the Irish boaries and pigs, without respect to person, are consumed by the English Tories and Whigs in honour of right and justice; and that even the swine in Ireland think this unjust, and give a different interpretation of their original contract with the Irish, has hitherto not been of any avail to the latter.

Dublin, 23rd August.

On the 19th of August I went from Clonmel to Cork. At first there was a wooded valley, then the monotonous desert valley of the Suire, military barracks in Fermoy, and a handsome approach by the side of the river or bay to Cork. The city is more bustling, more purely Irish, than Dublin; the hills to the sea, and toward the interior of the country, ornamented in a most diversified and pleasing manner with country houses; in

the green meadows along the road-side there were quiet sheep, instead of the grunting swine, which elsewhere are the only domestic animals to be seen. I looked at the theatre with as much indifference as if I had never been a friend to theatrical amusements; and, the evening being fine, preferred a walk in the environs. From one house I heard the German waltz, *Ach du lieber Augustin.*

On the 20th I went to Killarney, and hastened to Ross Castle, in order to enjoy the prospect of the picturesque mountains and lakes. I the more willingly refrain from comparisons, because the weather all at once became extremely unfavourable, and compelled me to give up the plan of seeing the whole. I returned to Dublin by way of Limerick, through fertile tracts, tedious bogs, and barren heaths, the rain pouring down all the time. You must be satisfied with this bare enumeration; and, if you desire descriptions of scenery, you may read over again what I wrote last year, about the same time, from Switzerland. My mind is filled with one thought—I can entertain no other—it is that of the inexpressible wretchedness of so many thousands. In England I looked in vain for misery, and all the complaints that I heard seemed to me to be partial and exaggerated: here, no words can express the frightful truth which everywhere meets the eye. To form an idea of it you must see these houses—not houses, but huts—not huts, but hovels, mostly without windows or apertures; the same entrance—the same narrow space for men and hogs—the latter

lively, sleek, and well fed, the former covered with rags, or rather hung with fragments of rags in a manner which it is impossible to conceive. If I except the respectable people in the towns, I did not see upon thousands of Irish a whole coat, a whole shirt, a whole cloak, but all in tatters, and tatters such as are nowhere else to be seen.

The ruins of ancient castles were pointed out to me; but how could I take any pleasure in them while the desolate ruined huts surrounded me, and testified the distress of the present times more loudly than the others did the grandeur of the past? But then the lords were of the same race—of the same language; they were on the spot, and the people certainly not so wretched as since the confiscations of the English conquerors. Other huts were half fallen down, but the occupants crept into the remaining half, which was not larger than a coffin for the wretched family.

When I recollect the well-fed rogues and thieves in the English prisons, I admire, notwithstanding the very natural increase of Irish criminals, the power of morality—I wonder that the whole nation does not go over and steal, in order to enjoy a new and happier existence. And then the English boast of the good treatment of their countrymen, while the innocent Irish are obliged to live worse than their cattle. In Parliament they talk for years together whether it is necessary and becoming to leave 100,000 dollars annually (15,000*l.*) in the hands of the pastors of 526 Protestants, or 10,759 dollars to the pastors of 3 Protestants; while there are thousands here

who scarcely know they have a soul, and know nothing of their body, except that it suffers hunger, thirst, and cold.

Which of these ages is the dark and barbarous —the former, when mendicant monks distributed their goods to the poor, and, in their way, gave them the most rational comfort; or the latter, when rich (or bankrupt) aristocrats can see the weal of the church and of religion (or of their relations) only in retaining possession of that which was taken and obtained by violence?

All the blame is thrown on agitators, and discontent produced by artificial means. What absurdity! Every falling hut causes agitation, and every tattered pair of breeches a *sans-culotte*. Since I have seen Ireland I admire the patience and moderation of the people, that they do not (what would be more excusable in them than in distinguished revolutionists, authors, journalists, Benthamites, baptized and unbaptized Jews) drive out the devil through Beelzebub the prince of the devils.

Thrice-happy Prussia, with its free proprietary peasantry, its agricultural nobles, its contented and tolerant clergy, its well-educated youth!

I endeavoured to discover the original race of the ancient Irish and the beauty of the women. But how could I venture to give an opinion! Take the loveliest of the English maidens from the saloons of the Duke of Devonshire or the Marquis of Lansdowne, carry her—not for life, but for one short season, into an Irish hovel,—feed her on water and potatoes, clothe her in rags,

expose her blooming cheek and alabaster neck to the scorching beams of the sun, and the drenching torrents of rain, let her wade with naked feet through marshy bogs, with her delicate hands pick up the dung that lies in the road, and carefully stow it by the side of her mud resting-place, give her a hog to share this with her—to all this add no consolatory remembrance of the past, no cheering hope of the future—nothing but misery—a misery which blunts and stupifies the mind—a misery of the past, the present, and the future;—would the traveller, should this image of woe crawl from out of her muddy hovel, and imploringly extend her shrivelled hand, recognize the noble maiden whom a few short weeks before he admired as the model of English beauty?

And yet the children, with their black hair and dark eyes, so gay and playful in their tatters—created in the image of God—are in a few years, by the fault of man and the government, so worn out, without advantage to themselves or others, that the very beasts of the field might look down on them with scorn.

Is what I have said exaggerated, or, perhaps, merely an unseasonable and indecorous fiction? or should I have suppressed it, because it may offend certain parties? What have I to do with O'Connell and his opponents? I have nothing either to hope or to fear from any of them; but to declare what I saw, thought, and felt is my privilege and my duty. *Discite justitiam, moniti, et non temnere divos!*

Liverpool, August 24, 1835.

Thank God, I am again in England, though not with the same feelings that I left it! Last night, as I quitted Dublin in the steam-boat, the dark clouds traversed the sky in rapid confusion, and when the sun burst through them, the mountains on the right and left threw their long shadows towards England. This shadow spreads in my fancy over the lately so glowing scene, and the more I endeavour to efface it, the more indelible does it appear, like the blood stains to Lady Macbeth. I have read and written much on the sufferings of different ages and nations, and wrote and read with sympathy; but it is a far different thing to see them; to see them in their gigantic form in our highly-extolled times, denied and extenuated—nay, acknowledged and justified by those who, like the French, fancy that they are at the head of all human civilization. No wonder if the native Irish, like the prophet of old by the waters of Babylon, sit down and weep, if I, a stranger, am compelled to reckon the few days I passed among them as the most melancholy of my life. Of other, and I trust more cheering matters, in my next.

LETTER LXIII.

Return to England—Liverpool—Iron Rail-road—Manchester—Children—Workhouse—Schools in Manchester—England and Germany—Birmingham—Wolverhampton—Dissenters—Peculiarities of the Cities—King and People—Prussian Constitution.

Manchester, 21st August.

THE continued bad weather defeated my plan of proceeding from Dublin to Holyhead, and thence through North Wales to Liverpool; but I should not have been able to see anything, for the rain still continues.

The rough weather increased my apprehensions of sea-sickness. The ladies soon disappeared from deck; and one, who had taken refuge in her travelling carriage, was carried half dead into the cabin by four persons. Some gentlemen, who lingered a little longer, set me a very bad example; and only a sprightly lady's maid, who mounted the deck with great boldness, persevered for a long time in the vicinity of the paddles, and gazed upon the foaming waves. I went up to her, in the hope of some conversation; but, attracted by the wonders of nature, it was some time before she turned her head, and when she did—oh! the misery of sea-sickness! I cannot conceive how I have escaped without even the slightest attack. It is perhaps owing to my love of music. I certainly kept correct time with the motion of the

ship; so that the greater the rising and sinking, the more agreeable it was to me. I hope I shall not have to suffer the more on my passage to Hamburg.

Owing to the density of the fog, I did not see Liverpool till I reached it. No city of England, nay of Europe, has increased so rapidly in wealth and extent within a short period, a result of its favourable situation, and likewise of extraordinary industry and activity. How could Bristol have otherwise remained behind? The whole of Lancashire, however, is an example of amazing improvements. The population of the county in 1700 amounted to 166,000 inhabitants; in 1750, to 297,000; in 1800, to 672,000; in 1831, to 1,336,000. The docks and warehouses in Liverpool surpass in size even those of London; and the city is extending with much taste and regularity, though Edinburgh leaves all others far in the rear in this respect. The Exchange is equal to those of London and Paris, and the Town Hall is superior to the Mansion House in London; the interior arrangements, too, are grand and simple, much better than Buckingham House. A bronze monument in honour of Nelson, which has been set up between the Exchange and the Town Hall, would be deserving of commendation, were it not for the skeleton which appears beneath the mantle. Surely the motto, "England expects every man to do his duty,"—the attitude of the falling hero,—the laurel wreath held over his head by the Goddess of Victory,—all this is surely sufficiently expressive and emblematic. Wherefore, then, this

hideous addition? Had I any voice in Liverpool, I should certainly propose to draw the mantle over the skeleton, and entirely to conceal it. The purchase of Roscoe's library reflects honour on the city; and we must hope that it will be enriched by many additions.

After the Prussian consul, Mr. G., had shown me every civility in his power, I, of course, went on the iron rail-road from Liverpool to Manchester. In spite of all that one may have heard and read on the subject, it makes a peculiar impression, to see this long row of waggons, loaded with so many passengers and goods, hasten along with unparalleled velocity, merely by the agency of a little water and fire. It is commendable that Germany desires to participate in the wonderfully far increased facilities of intercourse. But let us take care not to throw away large sums, if unfavourable circumstances should prevail. There is a noble enthusiasm which will not remain below what is attainable; but there is also a vain-gloriousness which vaunts of impossibilities, and treats practicable and useful enterprises with very unjust disdain. The construction of the iron rail-road from Liverpool to Manchester, which is thirty English miles in length, cost above five and a half millions of dollars. Such a capital cannot yield sufficient interest, except where two very large cities lie at a short distance from each other, of which the one imports and the other exports an immense quantity of goods. Such a state of things is scarcely to be met with a second time in the world. No rocks can be blasted, and no valleys raised, for the sake

of a few individuals; who would like to travel more rapidly for their pleasure. Nothing but an extraordinary traffic makes such an enterprise practicable and useful.

Manchester, 28th August.

It is very polite and agreeable if a rich man invites to his table a stranger who has been introduced to him; but he does still more when he gives up his time to him, takes him about, procures him introductions, &c. All these attentions are so liberally bestowed on me in this town also, that I protract my stay longer than my limited time seems to justify. Messrs. Ph., Sh., H., and A. have done everything in their power to make my visit both useful and agreeable. Without letters of introduction, this is, of course, not to be expected; but these letters may be too partial. A gentleman, to whom I delivered one of them, immediately entered into conversation about poor laws; and as I am not unacquainted with this subject, I was able to keep it up. But when he said that I had written a work on the management of the poor, I was obliged to decline this honour; and when he drew out the letter of introduction, by way of justification, I saw that he had read that I was the most celebrated historical writer of the *Poor*, instead of *Europe*. We were both alarmed at the great hyperbole; and I was thankful that he had not read that I was a *poor* historical writer.

I saw here the very extensive manufactory of machinery of Messrs. Sharp and Roberts, where

I had everything explained to me by a young countryman of mine; the cotton-yarn manufactory of Messrs. Connell; and the calico-printing of Mr. Nield, &c. You do not expect me to make superficial observations on things which have been thoroughly discussed, and with competent knowledge of the subject, by others. But I find here a confirmation of certain notions, which I have already stated; on which I add some remarks.

The English workmen (I do not speak of the children) receive in proportion higher wages, and live better, than those in Germany. In the manufactory of Messrs. Sharp and Roberts, for instance, the average weekly wages is about thirty shillings, and the principal necessaries of life, food, clothing, and fuel, are now no dearer here than with us. The breakfast of the workmen consisted, as I saw, of the finest wheat bread, cheese of the best quality, and a considerable portion of ale or porter. Some save part of their wages, but the greater part spend all they get; and thus, considering the very great numbers of workmen, there arises, in case of a falling off of trade, much greater danger for England than for Germany. But, at the present moment, the market in England is so extended, that nothing is to be feared. Gradual changes must be guided, and sudden ones (such as war) bring with them a kind of relief, and turn forces that might be dangerous into other channels. In no case can an artificial boundary be set to the development of commerce and manufactures, or hundreds of thousands of men be compelled to economy.

A very absurd remnant of the old system is the prohibition to export certain kinds of machinery. England would outstrip all other nations in this species of manufacture; whereas now no secret can be kept beyond a few years, and then other countries supply themselves. It is also very erroneous to imagine that the successful progress of manufactures depends only on the possession of certain machines.

I paid particular attention to the condition of the children in the cotton manufactories. To what I have already said on the subject, I can add the following particulars:—Many of the complaints were exaggerated: many a reproach (for instance, a constrained, unnatural position of the body) has been removed by the improvement of the machinery. The Factory Bill had a salutary effect, inasmuch as it turned the general attention to the subject, confirmed kind-hearted manufacturers in their laudable conduct, and brought the harsh into a right course. The work is, almost without exception, extremely easy and simple. The lowest wages (here four shillings a week) is indeed but little; but without it the children could not live at all.

This is one side of the picture: on the other, it cannot be denied that the easiest labour, continued twelve hours in the day, is too much for any children; that they learn for their whole life a mechanical dexterity; that their mind remains uncultivated; and that they have neither time nor strength remaining to attend school. Almost every improvement of machinery makes the harder and dearer labour of grown-up persons less neces-

sary, and increases the demand for children. Thus there arises (thank Heaven, not in all England, but only in the manufacturing districts) a constant employment—nay, a slavery for them, such as has no parallel in the history of the world. Legislation can by no means prevent this course of improvement; but it can regulate it more than hitherto, and do more for the education of the mind and the heart, which is still far too much neglected. The state of things in our country is certainly more simple—more natural and healthful; and, if we do not produce so much dimity or muslin, we produce the more thoughts and feelings; and the poetry of childhood is not yet wholly banished from among us by the rattling of machinery. A manufacturer observing to me that the children were all satisfied, a boy shook his head. As they soon afterwards went away to dinner, I spoke to him in the street, and asked him why he shook his head. "I shook my head for myself, and not for the others," said he; "for," continued he, on my questioning him further, "I was born in the country, and when I was ten years old was obliged to keep the swine; but, having heard a great deal of the town, I ran away, and immediately obtained employment in this manufactory. At first I was full of joy and wonder; but I cannot tell you, Sir, how much I long to be back with my swine. I could talk with each of them in my own way, and each gave me a different answer. I could speak, halloo, whistle, strike to the right or to the left, drive them out, drive them home, go slowly, or run—always something new. Here, on the contrary, the same work all day long; calling and whistling avail nothing.

To give way to impatience by striking is forbidden; and to speak to the other work-people impossible, for the noise. The squeaking of the swine vexed me often enough; but what would I now give, if a spinning-machine could utter so many expressive sounds as the swine! Then, too, I heard the birds sing, saw the sun rise and set, looked at the passing clouds, rejoiced to see every thing grow and blossom, and had the prospect of leaving the swine for the cows and horses, to drive, sow, reap, and many other things. Here I must, for my whole life, tie threads together, and pick flocks of cotton. I assure you, Sir, I am now more stupid than my swine, and perhaps I should not even be able to attend them as I ought."

So much for the idyllic poetry of a factory life!

I yesterday visited the poor-house, and send some particulars from the last year's report for your information. There were in the House 233 men, 256 women, 83 boys, and 77 girls; 9 of the men, and 39 of the women, were between 80 and 90 years of age. The weekly expense for every person is—

	s.	d.
Food . . .	2	$0\frac{3}{4}$
Clothing . .	0	$5\frac{1}{2}$
Total . .	2	$6\frac{1}{4}$

Their breakfast consists of rice and milk, oatmeal porridge; their dinner, two days in the week, of meat and vegetables; and the remaining five days they have soup, or potato soup, with a sufficient quantity of bread. This institution, which is under the direction of Mr. Robinson, is de-

serving of great praise, and proves that, at a very small expense, certain general objects can be accomplished even in England. This gives us the more reason to regret that, in London and some other places, criminals fare much better than the innocent poor here. But if I compare even this economical establishment, its apartments, beds, clothing and food, with what I saw in Ireland, I see only royal magnificence and Asiatic profusion.

The rapid improvements and the increasing opulence of Manchester are very striking. Only such a city could spend above 700,000 dollars in the improvement of a single street. On the other hand, the annual expenditure for the poor of every description amounts to 230,000 dollars. These are contrasts more marked than among us. But the poor Irish, who throng to this place, cost annually about 12,000 dollars; and yet this fact seems to excite more disgust than pity: it ought to prove the necessity of general and wholly different measures. But, whenever Ireland is mentioned, the feelings of the English, otherwise so noble and generous, seem blunted, and they appear determined not to see the causes which have for centuries continued to operate so hatefully.

Manchester, August 28.

The English make it a subject of congratulation that their government does not interfere in many things, and, doubtless, a constant intermeddling of government may be injurious. But I still see instances of this (not to speak of earlier

times, of religious oaths, &c.,) in England: for example, the corn-laws, the protecting duties for manufactures, &c. On the other hand, government interferes too little here; and it is not true that everything can go on freely of itself, and without general direction and assistance. If, in consequence of the English laws, the ship-builders must buy timber, the consumer corn, at an exorbitant price, or the manufacturer of machines is not allowed to export them, most people here say that this is useful and necessary. On the other hand, if with us the children are kept to school (and this, in truth, *without compulsion*, entirely by admirable regulations), this is denominated tyranny. I, on the contrary, find tyranny in the former measures, and in the latter the basis of the highest intellectual freedom.

Manchester affords an instructive example of the state of education in most of the towns in England. The town contains about 50,000 children between the ages of 5 and 15. Of these, the attendance is—

In day and evening schools, about	10,000
In day and Sunday schools .	10,000
In Sunday schools . .	23,000
Total . . .	43,000

If we reflect that the Sunday and evening schools afford but a very few hours of instruction during the week, we may reckon the number of children who are educated in the German manner at 20,000: from which it results, that three-fifths of the children receive no education what-

ever. That I may not appear too severe in my conclusions, I will confine myself to what a numerous, well-disposed, and impartial Commission have stated in their Report of 1835.

A great part of the schools are conducted by women, and old men of no education, where nothing is taught but reading and needlework. They are, generally, in the most deplorable condition; in confined, dirty, unwholesome rooms, or cellars, without benches, chairs, or any other suitable arrangement; and, with the most, two or three books between all the pupils. According to the opinion of the Commissioners, it cannot be affirmed that 4722 children, who attend these schools, are in any way instructed or educated. The same account is given of the day and evening schools; and the Sunday schools, in spite of all their defects, are pronounced to be the most useful. Passing over several other facts, I send you only the general and most important results of the investigation.

"In the first place," says the Report, "the number of children stated to attend school gives a very imperfect and deceiving indication of the real state of education.

"*Secondly*.—The existing means of education for the lower classes in Manchester are wholly inadequate, and, besides, very little calculated to produce a favourable result.

"*Thirdly*.—The children who attend the dame schools may be said to receive no instruction at all, and even that which is given to about 7000 children in the day-schools is scarcely deserving

of the name. A main cause of this evil—the ignorance and incapacity of the teachers—cannot be remedied till seminaries are established for their instruction; and the error is renounced, that the business of schoolmasters is the only one that does not require knowledge or capability.

"*Fourthly.*—If we may justly assume that Manchester affords a fair average of the state of education in England, we find a painful and mortifying contrast to some states on the continent; whether we consider the number of children who regularly attend school, or the kind and efficiency of the instruction which they receive.

"While in Prussia, and some other German states, all the children between the ages of 7 and 14, of every class, are bound by the law to attend school, and really do attend, not two-thirds of those in Manchester receive even nominal instruction. Whereas, in the above-mentioned countries, schools are carefully established in every place, and confided to the care of a teacher, who is brought up to the profession, and is not allowed to undertake it till he has undergone a strict investigation of his qualifications and knowledge,—the education of the lower classes, in this country, is, with few exceptions, in the hands of ignorant and uneducated men, who are often destitute of all fitness for the employment, and have entered upon it only as an easy mode of getting money, or in consequence of some accidental circumstances, or bodily infirmity. In those countries we also find the substance of the instruction far better than in England, for there the scholars

in every elementary school are instructed in religion, the German language, the first principles of arithmetic, of drawing, and natural history; geography, general history (especially that of their own country); singing, writing, gymnastic exercises, and simple handicraft trades. No school is considered complete which does not give instruction in all these various departments; in many schools, this is really done; and none are tolerated but where, at least, religion, reading, writing, and singing are taught in an efficient manner. In Manchester, and in England, in general, the education of the lower classes is, on the other hand, considered as finished if they learn reading, writing, and arithmetic. But even these are often very imperfectly taught; while the true cultivation of the mental powers, the amelioration of morals, the elevation of the character, instruction in the truths of morality and religion, in a word, the more valuable objects of education are wholly neglected and forgotten."

I have the more pleasure in communicating to you this testimony of foreign and impartial judges, to the excellence and growth of the highest intelligence, the mental freedom and energy, in our country, because all, from the king to the child at school, have cause to rejoice at it. If among thousands of teachers, and hundred thousands of scholars and students, there should be here and there one who, in the superabundance of joy at his new liberty, jumps too high, and falls upon his nose, let him be set upon his legs and admonished—the complaints of the mice and

moles, on the other hand, that people walk and dance on their head, may be quietly laid *ad acta*, or let them be advised to seek safer dwellings, where everybody lives underground in the dark. The dangerous principles of Jacobins and Radicals originate in ignorance, or false over-refinement; genuine education of the mind and heart is the best, the most comprehensive, and, in the end, the only effectual remedy against these destructive evils. They will never be subdued by negative remedies.

Some persons think that the freedom of the press affords the best education, and supplies its place without trouble. I cannot by any means agree to this opinion. In the first place, it is assumed, and very unjustly, that every man can read; and, secondly, that only what is worth reading will be printed, and put in the hands of the people. Without a right education, however, the judgment formed of what has been read will often prove incorrect, and what is objectionable would obtain a greater ascendancy than that which is good. The liberty of the press, too, chiefly concerns journals and newspapers, which by no means contain the whole stock of wisdom and virtue. What numerous and just complaints are made, for instance, in England, of the scandalous unstamped newspapers!—nay, even those of a better class frequently indulge, without restraint, in the passions of the moment. If the House of Commons passes a law which displeases the editor of a high Tory paper, he very coolly calculates the strength which his party would have for a

civil war, and designates this devilish remedy as natural and useful. If the House of Lords does not please the Radicals, their papers talk of expelling all the Lords, nay, even the king, and of the desired overthrow of all existing institutions. This proves that freedom of the press certainly exists in this sense, that every one can print what he pleases; but if the idea of freedom is not perfect, except where it leads to no abuses, then even the English are not yet possessed of this highest degree of liberty of the press. With the spread of education and knowledge, the false excitement of those abuses will subside, and true freedom will be established, developed, and confirmed by the press better than before.

Birmingham, 29th August.

Dr. H———'s friendly invitation induced me to stay a day longer in Manchester. Accompanied by him, I still saw many objects of interest, and then drove to his very beautiful country-house. In the evening Dr. H——— took me back to the town. I was not quite a stranger to him, as he had in his library a copy of my Hohenstaufen.

Yesterday I travelled from Manchester to this place, through a country which may be compared, in all respects, with what I described in the beginning of my tour. Only about Wolverhampton, trees, grass, and every trace of verdure disappear. As far as the eye can reach all is black, with coal mines and iron works; and from this gloomy desert rise countless slender pyramidal

chimneys, whose flames illumine the earth, while their smoke darkens the heavens: the whole is exceedingly striking, probably unique in its kind; but the interest of the movement would quickly vanish if I were obliged to prolong my stay in this Vulcan's forge.

I was seated on the stage-coach between two very clever and intelligent Englishmen, who (contrary to the general rule) entered so easily and unhesitatingly into a conversation on various subjects, that I could not have desired more agreeable companions. One of them, however, was such a violent ultra-Radical, and such a decided Dissenter, that I fancied myself at this moment a representative of the Duke of Newcastle and the Bishop of Exeter, and might be a leader of the temporal and spiritual high Tories. I fought bravely, but as I was obliged to speak English to an Englishman, both the attack and the defence were of course inconvenient to me. In order, in the English fashion, to gain a majority, my opponent at length appealed to a young puppy, who was sitting on the coach-box, who demonstrated to me, in the same manner, that, from the year 300 to the time of John Knox, the world had remained as black and gloomy as a chimney at Wolverhampton. I answered like Spontini, when old Mistress Schechner attempted to instruct him—"Madame, I, too, know a little music," but had the less reason to mention my name, as nobody in the company would have learnt more of me than they knew before—namely, nothing. The old threadbare questions were repeated—"Cannot your king

impose taxes as he likes?" "Cannot he hang and torture at his pleasure?" &c. As the examiner had just before maintained that the House of Commons alone was omnipotent, he made it easy for me to answer him; and thus we came to a very moderate result, which endangered neither church nor state.

This hatred of the Dissenters to all church government, their commendation of the voluntary system, is chiefly produced because the English claims to be a dominant church. If treated with more moderation, their zeal would be partly cooled. Churches and schools, without any foundation or form, go to ruin, or at least do not flourish. The former happened in France, where the volunteers declared they needed neither clergy nor churches. England proves it, with respect to the schools, as we have just seen in the case of Manchester.

I might send you long descriptions of every English town I saw, merely by aid of an itinerary; but why should I trouble myself with what has been sufficiently done by others? Besides, every one has his own tastes and inclinations, which it is perhaps the wisest to follow.

Notwithstanding the great interest which I took in all that was pointed out to me in the different towns by obliging friends, a certain similarity and repetition of what I had seen, from exchanges to prisons, and from soft cotton to hard iron, was unavoidable.

Every one will return a different answer to the question, what it is that makes a place agreeable?

—the artist, the merchant, the man of learning do not think alike. But setting aside all decided predilections, we may yet discover a common standard of opinion for all other spectators. Those commercial towns, which do nothing but accumulate and export goods already manufactured, may please and strike us by the extent of their traffic, but they are altogether destitute of interest to all but a merchant. Thus Leghorn, though the most flourishing, is, at the same time, the most tedious city in Italy. Manufacturing towns, which create and transform, afford more subjects for contemplation and instruction, but must necessarily bear great similarity to each other.

Wherein, then, consists the more durable, decided interest of a town. I think, in the peculiarity of its features, and in its being, as it were, a positive living person. In the same manner as the individual who has no decided, distinct character is lost in the mass of the people; so a town, without any decided physiognomy, without a distinct character, is confounded with the crowd of many similar towns. If, in this point of view, I compare a series of English and German towns, the former are far superior to the latter in extent, wealth, activity, and population, but inferior in peculiarity of character and decided contrast. The coal-dealing towns of Newcastle and Sunderland are as different from the cotton manufacturing towns of Glasgow and Manchester as black and white. Yet how similar and uniform do all appear when we compare them with the

variety in Germany: for instance, on the one hand, Düsseldorf, Cologne, Bonn, Mayence, Francfort, &c.; on the other, Hamburg, Berlin, Leipsig, Dresden, Nuremburg, Munich, Salzburg, &c. Oxford and Edinburgh alone are remarkable exceptions.

Oxford, Sunday, August 30, 1835.

It was my intention to go from Birmingham to Woodstock, and to see Blenheim; but when I reached Woodstock on Saturday afternoon, I was told that the place not being shown on Sundays, I should have to wait two whole days before this sanctuary would be opened, and being a determined enemy to all delay, I hastened on to Oxford. The country from Birmingham to this place is well cultivated, and bears the character of English scenery, without being distinguished by any particular beauty. Stratford on Avon is a very inconsiderable place, and there is nothing striking in the country round. The genius of Shakspeare is not to be inferred from these externals; it is the offspring of mind.

I write down various scraps as they occur to me. At Newcastle-on-Tyne I had to pay two shillings for my dinner, which consisted of some cold meat, and a few potatoes boiled in the peel.

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On the box sat a young damsel, who frequently cast her languishing gazelle eyes towards me; not, however, at my worthless heart, but (as I imagined) at my comfortable seat and travelling cushion,—for the coachman nearly elbowed her off

the box; but I soon found that this was a mistake, for she presently became such good friends with her elegant companion, that he soon sung her an air in C major, 2-4 time, in a most dulcet coachman-like tone. No sooner did these sounds reach the ears of an urchin of three years old, who was seated next to me with his mother, than he began a dirge in D minor, 3-8, which produced combinations and harmonies such as I had never before heard. From time to time the driver observed that his attention had been too long diverted from his horses, he therefore suddenly changed his key, and sang or whistled to them, in the coarse, rude tones of his profession, bolder discords and transitions than even Beethoven would have ventured upon.

"Your king," said an Englishman to me, "is the coachman, and you are the horses. We, on the contrary, are the coachmen, and harness and rein-in our king as we please." What a vulgar, incorrect comparison! Were the case really so in England, the many coachmen would soon drive the horses to death, then hurl each other from the seat, harass and worry each other to death, till the last driver would be obliged to draw the coach himself. If the whole of public life, the abstract of social existence, is to be reduced to this one alternative, to whip or to be whipped, then not merely colonies of bees and ants, but even herds of wild beasts, are superior to an association of men.

"You are slaves," said another Englishman, "for, with his standing army, your king can yoke

and drive you as he pleases." Though the English are better informed on some points than many other people, yet there are among them individuals who are more ignorant on other subjects, and venture to give the most positive opinion, without taking the least trouble to obtain even a superficial knowledge of them. Thus they know of no difference in the military regulations of the continent, from Naples to Petersburg; and the majority are altogether unacquainted with the peculiarity and excellence of the Prussian system, respecting which even the French have written and spoken with so much judgment and commendation. With us the annoying and injurious contrast between the civil and military orders has been abolished; all are citizens—all are soldiers. There is no opposition of feeling and duty; no condition unalterably fixed for life by the arbitrary decision of the ballot; no unjust partiality towards the rich, by allowing them to furnish bad substitutes; civil occupation is made compatible with military preparation and education; the most extensive measures of defence, united to a comparatively trifling expense; every soldier is treated as a man of honour, and every officer disciplined and qualified for his rank, not by purchase but by science. That our military regulations, our army, our civil officers, not removable at pleasure, are powerful guarantees for true German freedom, is an undeniable truth to every person acquainted with the subject, however paradoxical it may appear to the French and English. The former, so numerous, powerful, secure, and

invincible, so long as they do not rouse the spirit of their more peaceful neighbours by a love of tyranny and conquest, might and should be the first to reduce the military establishments in time of peace: the insular situation of England is attended with immense advantages in saving time, money, and strength for military objects. But an army, whose soldiers are recruited and flogged, whose officers can attain their rank by purchase, is altogether so different from a Prussian army of the present day, nay, it has so little connexion with the mass of the people, and is employed in Ireland chiefly for the enforcement of unjust laws, that it is impossible it should be national or popular. I will, therefore, readily excuse every Englishman who cannot at first understand that, among us, the army and the nation have been identified, and a peaceful or warlike life have been (like body and soul) brought to perfect unity and community. No doubt there are, among us, some single officers who would wish to restore the old system of caste; some few men of wealth, the doctrine of hired substitutes and privileges; some cowards and idlers, entire exemption from military service. The advantages of the new system, however, are so evident and preponderating, that it is to be hoped its carping opponents will never be able to destroy it. At least, there can be no doubt that, from that moment, Prussia, both as a military power and a people, would fall from the elevation to which it raised itself in 1813 by the aid of those institutions.

London, 31st August.

I had numerous letters of introduction for Oxford, but found only Messrs. C—— and P—— there. I, therefore, shortened my stay, especially as I was anxious to return to London, the centre of all public transactions, and to the State-Paper Office, where I hoped to make considerable accessions to my treasures during the three succeeding weeks. The road from Birmingham to London is agreeable enough, but is certainly inferior to that by way of Wakefield, both in point of cultivation, variety, and beauty. Of Oxford in my next letter.

LETTER LXIV.

Oxford—Colleges—University—Religion—Dissenters—Christianity in England and Germany—London University—King's College—Inns of Court—Cambridge—Prussian Administration—Police Passports—Students.

London, 1st September, 1835.

No person should give an opinion of Oxford, its scientific, political, and ecclesiastical position, who has not seen it. Much that appears inexplicable then becomes intelligible, and a severe judgment is softened into equity. In many other towns we see an old church, or the ruins of an ancient castle; but they stand alone, not harmonizing with what surrounds them, and subordinate—nay, they are, for the most part, hidden by the greater number of modern erections of a wholly different character. Here, the reverse is the case: a whole city full of the noblest, the most astonishing, monuments of an ancient period, and everything modern is but an insignificant accessory. That former period is not an age that is passed away, and powerless, but is living, present and prevailing in all its vigour. Even the stones from the Colosseum at Rome were removed to erect other buildings, for it was already half fallen into ruin; but here, it seems a breach of duty to remove a pinnacle, a battlement, or a corbel, and a sacrilege committed on the sacred relics of art. Must not this daily impression, this irresistible feeling, be-

come incorporated and combined with opinions relative to the state, church, and science? It would be contrary to all the laws of nature not to expect such a result.

Huts built upon sand may be easily, and thoughtlessly, taken down, removed, and built up again; but the halls of Oxford are founded for eternity, and the tenants will not suffer themselves to be driven out by the first comer who might take a fancy to erect, in or near them, a noisy machine. Shall we help to pull down the venerable monuments of those ages, because they are not painted with the fashionable colour? Far be this from us: only he who approaches them with reverence will be able to discover where there is any part that requires repair.

We extol and admire the latest productions of our days—railroads and warehouses, power-looms and steam-engines. But what is the distinctive mark of their general tendency?—that they provide for the body, and that their object is gain. The men of those dark ages, on the contrary, founded astonishing institutions, disinterestedly, without a view to external advantages, and only for the mind. Undoubtedly, it may be said of cotton and iron, that they influence the mind, and that the body is never entirely separated from the mind; but *mens agitat molem*—it ought to be the director and ruler, not the servant and follower.

When the Parliament of the richest nation in the world grants 20,000*l.* for the improvement of the mind, how mean, and paltry, and unworthy of mention, is such a trifle, compared with what the

founder of a single college in Oxford as done. It is answered—the government is, with reason, determined to leave every thing, as at that time, to the influence and exertions of private persons only. With reason!—as at that time!—In what code can you show the right of government to give laws only for the body, to banish the mind into the highway, till some compassionate Samaritan comes and takes pity on it? As at that time!—Where, then, are the modern foundations that can be compared to the ancient ones? Is it the Sunday schools, which would give the mind some drops of the elixir of life, in half an hour, to the mind which has been blunted by six days' stupifying labour? or a penitentiary, where men are educated, by stopping their mouths for years together? Would that be the right regeneration of Oxford, if radical philanthropists converted its colleges into penitentiaries, or workhouses for stout and idle vagabonds? It is the privilege and duty of Oxford to defend the mind against the body, spirituality against materialism, science against love of gain: whether it duly exercises this right, and this duty, I shall discuss in the sequel.

The philosophy of the middle ages, and of the schoolmen, which has been so thoughtlessly despised, had its centre and vivifying principle in the doctrine of God, and the relation of man to his creator and preserver. The objects of sense, their nature and their use, retired before the supremacy of the soul and of the mind. Bacon's merit was, that he vindicated the rights of nature

and of experience: but, by neglecting, nay, despising, the ancient tendency for the sake of the new, we could not fail to come to the empiricism of Locke, of Condillac, and, lastly, of Bentham. The profound theology of ancient times gave way to a new worship of nature, where fire, water, and steam act a principal part. That the German philosophy, notwithstanding some strange phantasies, always finds its way to spiritualism, always places at the head the doctrine of mind, always feels the want of this illumination and sanctification, is an infinite advantage, and gives it an energy for time and eternity, which reaches far beyond steam-engines and hydraulic presses.

London, September 2nd.

Were thirty equally magnificent buildings erected by the side of the Berlin University, and richly endowed for the promotion of education and instruction, could we be surprised if the former gradually lost its exclusive importance, and became, in some measure, subordinate to the latter? This is precisely the case with Oxford and its colleges; the accessory has become the principal, and forced the latter into the background. If this leads to a false state of things, it should be corrected; but the principle should not be destroyed, in rash anger, with the erroneous accessories. If I set out with assuming that the German principle for gymnasia and universities is the only correct one, the English institutions must certainly appear quite absurd and incomprehensible. The best, therefore, will be to

begin with the important consideration of some points in which the English system possesses advantages, even though they cannot be introduced into other countries.

Firstly.—The very rich and numerous colleges afford the greatest external resources for instruction, and the possibility of enabling many persons to devote themselves to learning without depending on it.

Secondly.—The tutors have a superintendence over the industry and conduct of the students, which does not exist in Germany.

Thirdly.—By repeated examinations, prize questions, &c., the young men are excited to greater diligence, and a more accurate and useful knowledge of their progress is obtained.

Fourthly.—The connexion of the colleges with the university facilitates the transition from the gymnasium to the university, which, in Germany, is often dangerous.

I must presume that you are acquainted with the fundamental regulations of the English universities. I will, therefore, add only a few words to explain what precedes, and what I have yet to add. After a slight examination, and the subscription of the Thirty-nine Articles, the student is admitted into a college, and matriculated. But he does not actually attend the university lectures till after the expiration of a certain time, and after having passed through certain examinations. The colleges must, therefore, be compared with gymnasia, where the scholars both reside, and are under superintendence.

If we now return to those points which seem to indicate certain superior advantages, they are, however, liable to many objections.

Firstly.—The great resources have by no means led to comprehensive instruction; and the often high-paid tutors are far from being always eminent for their learning.

Secondly.—In cases where domestic and public education cannot be carried on at the same time, gymnasia, and colleges in which the scholars reside, are a useful substitute. Experience, however, shows that no superintendence suffices to prevent many improprieties; that the temptations to go astray often increase with the numbers; nay, that the character easily acquires a tendency to arrogance and narrowmindedness, which is better restrained by domestic education.

Thirdly.—The examinations are, in some points of view, useful; but, even at school, they do not afford the only correct standard, and are attended, in the universities, with still greater difficulties. Further, prize questions are part of the becoming luxury of a university; but often lead to a confined sphere of study, and a waste of time upon one subject, while the successful candidate, perhaps, remains totally ignorant of other more necessary things.

Fourthly.—Much might certainly be done in Germany to facilitate the transition from the gymnasium to the university, to have more influence on the course of study, and to introduce a better superintendence over the industry of the students. For it is possible, among us, that the

student may be always idle (certainly a defect in the formal arrangements); and the testimonies of the professors (with the exception of a few lectures) prove, on the whole, nothing with respect to the progress or non-progress of the students: on the other hand, however, the more unremitting vigilance of the school must, at some period or other, have an end, and the youth be left to act on his own responsibility. I do not see that a greater proportion go astray in Germany than in England. The establishment of colleges like those at Oxford would cost millions, and not attain the object. Besides, certain changes in life necessarily include in them a sudden transition; for instance, the choice of a profession, the acceptance of an office, marriage, &c.

If we assume (which is, however, denied) that the Oxford colleges fulfil all the requirements of a moral education, they are, nevertheless, from personal and substantial grounds, far inferior to our gymnasia, in a scientific point of view. In the first place, only two or three tutors are appointed to every college; from which it naturally results, in the second place, that they are not qualified to give thorough instruction in every branch of knowledge. Besides, this instruction is almost wholly confined to religion, Greek, Latin, ancient history, and mathematics; a course of study altogether inadequate to the just demands of the present times. The answer, that (conformably to many original foundations) nothing is intended but the education of divines,

is not sufficient—because these, too, need a very different preparatory education; and a great number of scholars are received and instructed in the same manner, who certainly have no intention of devoting themselves to the ecclesiastical profession.

Nor can I admit another justification of this confined system of instruction;—this is, that materialism has in our days a mischievous preponderance, and is everywhere brought forward and promoted in such a manner, that Oxford ought to produce a counterbalance, and counteract the total neglect of a more spiritual formation of the mind: our real variation is to instruct in the latter, not in the former. I answer,—when the world takes a tendency so important, so fruitful in consequences, as that just indicated, he will always have the disadvantage, who would wholly withdraw himself from it, or merely endeavour to counteract it.

The higher task is to make ourselves masters of this new tendency—to take the lead, to guide, and to command it. Because the colleges and universities disdain to do this, mere naturalism becomes too powerful for them; and in spite of innumerable isolated improvements, a general natural philosophy is still wanting in England. He who has learnt in this manner, and has convinced himself that mind, that God reveals himself in nature, can no longer be satisfied with mere atomism or molecular philosophy.

But if that justification of Oxford is well

founded, it is deviating from the character assumed, and inconsistent, to admit mathematics alone into the course of studies.

Lastly.—It is totally inexcusable that the study of history is neglected at Oxford, as in all the schools of Great Britain, in a manner without a parallel in the countries of Europe;—nay, that, in fact, it is not taught at all—for some isolated, for the most part unsuccessful, attempts only prove that they do not know even how to follow the guide to the right road.

As our gymnasia, considered as learned establishments, are superior to the colleges at Oxford, so also are our universities. The faculties of medicine and jurisprudence are, properly speaking, entirely wanting in Oxford; and those of divinity and philosophy are by no means completely filled, in comparison with the German universities. To this it must be added, that the professors give so few lectures, and during so short a period of the year, that these appear, in comparison with the colleges, to be only a trifling addition and subordinate matters. No English university is a *Universitas Literaria*, in the German sense of the term; and improvements are both necessary and possible, without affecting what is really good and commendable.

With respect to the colleges, for instance, the superintendence, the living together, the connexion with the university, the system of examinations, the appointment of tutors, &c., may remain on the same footing as hitherto; but the mode of instruction, and the circle of things

taught, might be changed and enlarged in a manner suitable to the present times. I am far from meaning that a general law on this subject is possible, necessary, or useful. It is, on the contrary, good if each college (partly according to the personal character of the tutors) follows in preference one or another course, and that, for instance, one attends more to philology, the other to mathematics. Each college may, of itself, resolve upon and introduce such changes. The objection, that the will of the founders, which must be held sacred, does not allow this, is, in the first place, not general, because everything in this respect is not strictly prescribed. Besides, in my opinion, the foundation must be understood *cum grano salis*, and according to the meaning of the founder. If he, for instance, directed, in the sixteenth century, that the best Greek grammar then existing should serve as the basis of instruction, it would certainly not be acting in conformity with his wishes to retain it after it has become the worst! If a friend of astronomy had ordered, in the middle ages, that it should be taught on the Ptolemaic system, would he approve, if this direction were now obeyed? And in cases much more doubtful and open to objection, have not bold changes been made, and Catholicism been changed into Protestantism?

In a word, it is equally wrong to indulge in rash innovations, and obstinately to abide by what is antiquated. If a judicious middle course is adopted, general approbation will, in the end,

follow, and nobody will be hereby deterred from founding new establishments in future.

May, then, (this question is unavoidable) may the general legislation, in this case the Parliament, interfere in these matters, or not? Theory and the experience of thousands of years prove, that no object of private right, and private property, either has been, or can be, unconditionally withdrawn from its power. But it does not follow, from this general position, that every interference was always necessary and wise, and the opposition of private persons to it always unfounded and blameable. Every individual case requires, on the contrary, to be impartially examined and decided according to its own merits. That no human resolution and ordinance should extend beyond death (as the St. Simonist would have it), is an erroneous principle, which severs the salutary connection, and animating union of the several generations, both in families and the state. But it is equally mistaken precipitately to concede to an individual, or to individuals, in a given time, unlimited power to subject all posterity to their discretion. Therefore the system and method of popular education cannot be prescribed by any individual, or any legislative assembly, for all succeeding ages; and where an individual does not think himself authorized to depart from the directions of the earlier founders, he may apply to the superior legislative power, state his doubts, and obtain a satisfactory sanction for his proposals. He, however, who is able really

to help himself, need not apply to others for assistance.

Granting (which I cannot accede to) that the colleges of Oxford were entirely exempt from all superintendence and influence of the legislature, —that they were wholly independent states in the British system of education,—the same can by no means be affirmed of the university. Or those who went so far would certainly be inconsistent, if they at the same time opposed the establishment of new national universities, and endeavoured to maintain a monopoly for their private establishment. Till the University of Oxford has a complete establishment of professors for all sciences, and till lectures are diligently delivered upon them, nobody can well assert that it satisfies all the just and natural demands of our times. Instead of resisting these claims, Oxford itself ought most earnestly to enforce them, (purified from all partiality and exaggeration,) and raising itself from its antiquated and subordinate condition, place itself at the head of all intellectual pursuits. The resources possessed by it and the colleges are greater than those allotted to scientific purposes in any other city. But with these resources more might be done. At least, greater things have been effected in Germany, with inferior means; more is taught in our country, and through the oral instruction of the professors more learnt, than at Oxford.

London, 5th September, 1835.

As one principal advantage, it is alleged by the defenders of Oxford, that the religious education given there is more general and complete than in any similar institution. We will grant that there is a more frequent attendance at prayers and at church, yet this compulsory regulation does not necessarily imply a real religious feeling; nay, experience has often proved that what is forced upon the mind frequently does not take such deep root as what it has collected and comprehended by its own efforts. Entirely, however, setting aside this objection, there is not the slightest ground to consider the religious instruction given by our clergy to the scholars in the Gymnasia as inferior in quantity or quality to that which is given at Oxford by the tutors, or in a few university lectures. But if this instruction is so very excellent;—if the system of divinity drawn up in the reign of Queen Elizabeth contains all true Christianity for all eternity—if the Oxford mode of proof is so inimitable,—why are the Dissenters enviously or cowardly excluded from the university? Why is the decline of the doctrine of the Church feared, instead of hoping for its propagation? Why is the hope renounced, that the many who are said to be in possession of the only true doctrine should draw to themselves, and convert, the few adherents of error? The subscription of the Thirty-nine Articles is considered as the only means to obtain their admission. In this manner the converters of the heathens never began their work; and Christ said—"Suffer little

children to come unto me;" whereas Oxford says, —"I will have nothing to do with these children." The subscription that is demanded is an evil, whether carelessly given, or obstinately refused; it is an entirely superficial, unsatisfactory means to inspire or to confirm conviction; and, besides, the too modest apprehension that some dissenting schoolboys may overthrow the whole edifice of English divinity, with the stress arrogantly laid on some points of difference, as if the whole Christian world was in error, with the exception of an orthodox corner in England. For since all religious oaths have been abolished in Great Britain, the subscription has lost its importance; and it appears only ridiculous, that a man may become member of parliament, admiral, or commander-in-chief, but not a scholar on the fifth form, without the Thirty-nine Articles. Those who are excluded justly complain that they must, for instance, go to Germany to obtain a doctor's degree, or that they are expected to found schools for their children at an enormous expense.

That it is possible and useful to educate Catholics, Protestants, and Jews together in schools and universities is now proved, in so many Protestant and Catholic countries, that the opposition of Oxford has no weight, and the less so, as those valuable results of experience are next to unknown, or are here and there rejected with the offensive and false remark, that impiety has been introduced in this manner. Let us hear an orthodox defender of the Oxford principles respecting the preservation of the pure doctrine, and of true

Christianity. In a pamphlet against the Dissenters, Mr. Sewell uses the following language: —"I wholly and utterly deny the right of liberty of conscience: I deny the right of any sect to deviate even one atom from the rule which I consider as true Christianity."

In truth no pope of Rome has ever spoken like this Oxford professor. Soon after, the same man confesses that learning and science are by no means the great object of our efforts and our ambition; our doctors' degrees give indeed very insufficient proof of knowledge, &c.

That many of the advocates of the old system at Oxford are chiefly actuated by self-interest, and are afraid that any change will diminish their comforts and income, is so often and so positively asserted here, that I cannot avoid mentioning it; but remembering the words—"judge not"—I will not venture to give any opinion of my own upon the subject.

With respect to religion and divinity, Germany and England are in a very different situation, and in a very different way, to which the equalling of the great parties in the peace of Westphalia, and the subjection of all the parties in Great Britain to a single one, have essentially contributed.—Hence the parties here consider it as the main point and imperative duty to hold fast the points in which they differ; hence the Presbyterian sees his Christianity in that by which he is distinguished from the Episcopalian; the Episcopalian in that which distinguishes him from the Dissenter; the Catholic in his hostility to all here-

tics. All these are but positions and views of self-love, presumption, dissension, and hatred. They forget that the greatest and most sincere exertions never have, and never will, produce entirely coincident conviction; that eternal truth does and may reflect itself differently in the minds of men: that one person is more excited by the doctrines; a second by the morals; a third by the miracles; a fourth by the simplicity; a fifth by the artificial splendour of public worship. Why should people accuse and persecute, exclude and condemn each other for these natural and indelible differences?

The possession of equal rights by Catholics and Protestants in Germany—their living so mingled together—has not entirely done away with the recognition and examination of the contrasts and differences, but has rendered the love of war subordinate to the love of peace. The essence of Christianity is sought and found in that in which all parties agree; and where differences prevail (as between Lutherans and Calvinists), they have not been tyrannically maintained or set aside, but that is left to the head and heart of the individual which no compulsory law can prescribe, and really produce. Thus the school, instead of implanting germs of hatred, founds among the boys of different religions a friendship, which they preserve through life. Thus it has been found possible to introduce in the same universities (Breslau, Bonn, and Tubingen) a faculty of Catholic, and a faculty of Protestant divinity, and to place more confidence in the free development of the mind and in

Divine Providence than in a monopoly of the Articles of Trent, Augsburg, and England. In this manner charity illustrates faith, and faith is a testimony of mental freedom and maturity,—not the stepping-stone to school-honours, and school-offices,—to private or public privileges.

If that is indifference, &c., may God long preserve to the Germans these advantages! and love and concord, and not hatred, prevail in our country, as the essential basis of Christianity. What is the issue of the opposite way of intolerance, is proved by the whole of ecclesiastical history for the past, Ireland for the present, and Mr. Sewell's confession of faith for the future.

With such views, said some person to me, you must be an unconditional advocate of the London University, which admits every one, without reference to his religious opinions, and is sensible of the necessity of enlarging the system of education, and adapting it to the wants of our times;—two undeniably excellent principles. But principles alone do not constitute a university. If private individuals in our country were to come forward with such large sums for the promotion of science, they would have received the general thanks of their fellow-citizens, and been supported in every possible way by the government. Almost the very reverse took place here; and thus the whole undertaking, if not a total failure, is however very imperfect. First of all, it wants a secure, independent, and sufficient foundation; and though the whole is not taken up as a commercial speculation, yet a well-meant, but volun-

tary and precarious co-operation cannot produce an indestructible germ for centuries to come. What has been further alleged against the London University, founded on the monopoly of Oxford and Cambridge, and on intolerance, merits, it is true, no attention; but the institution can by no means be considered as a university in the extensive German meaning of the word; and never can attain that rank, so long as certain principles are held in England. For, first and chiefly, divinity is entirely wanting, and jurisprudence is taught in a very insufficient manner, wholly inadequate to the claims of general science. Competent judges make many objections even to the medical department, which is placed in the foreground; and what we call the philosophical faculty is far from complete. Thus, philosophy, in the higher sense of the term, is not taught; nor are there any lectures on history,—for that a Mr. ——— once attempted to comprise the whole of the middle ages in twelve lectures, is a double proof of neglect. The number of students in 1835 was, in medicine, 371,—in law and philosophy, 137,—a poor miserable handful for a city like London, which endeavours to reinforce itself with 408 pupils in a school connected with it. Every student has to pay annually in fees from 25*l.* to 28*l.*, a sum so large, that it indicates the insufficiency of the funds of the institution.

In order to overthrow the London University, the friends of the Established Church founded King's College for the professors of their doctrine; considered as a university, a most imperfect insti-

tution, with one professor of divinity, one of law, none of philosophy, none of history, &c.

You will tell me, that for law there exist in London the Inns of Court. So I thought too; and took it for a joke when somebody told me that the only obligation of the members of these institutions was, to take a certain number of dinners there in the course of the year. This, however, is literally true, and no instruction whatever in law is given there; nay, properly speaking, there is not in all England any scientific academical instruction in this branch of knowledge; and all is left to private industry and practice, without any general theory. Thus, the English knowledge of law is chiefly confined to innumerable particularities and precedents, as the French is often to general positions and abstractions; and yet the scientific knowledge of general principles, and the practical acquaintance of the relations of times and places, are essentially connected with each other.

If the London University, King's College, the Inns of Court, and the medical institutions, were united in one great whole, and properly and judiciously organized, they would make the most comprehensive scientific establishment in the world. At present all is mere patchwork, and will long continue so, because this very state of things has, on many accounts, the warmest advocates.

You already know, that Cambridge has declared itself more tolerant, in respect to theology, and that the university is not so subordinate to the colleges as Oxford. It is not my business to

enter into a fuller investigation of their differences. I think that I have already sufficiently indicated the main differences between the German and two principal English universities.

* * * * *

Your letters give me occasion to make some unconnected remarks.

Next to the making of laws is the application of them. For this reason I lay so much stress on the administration and executive officers. If these were consulted, as with us, about the laws to be promulgated, so much the better. A division of powers, on the French system, never produced good fruit: in reason, we should speak only of members of the same whole. But our administration will not remain at the elevation which is so justly praised, unless mistakes and errors are most carefully avoided. As such I would reckon:

1. Insufficieny of the examinations. A person who is to be appointed to an office for life is justly bound to give the most satisfactory proofs of his ability. I would, however, add some scientific persons to the men of business appointed as examiners, in order that theory and practice might both be attended to. Practical men, in advanced years, seldom know the state of the science with sufficient accuracy; and in their examination generally touch only on things that were taught in the universities in their days. Merely scientific examiners, on the other hand, pay too little attention to what practice requires, or procure themselves a monopoly for their lectures. A prudent com-

bination of both would be equally advantageous to science and the state.

2. A man who has not studied and been examined in the usual way, may have more talent, and be more useful, than hundreds who have advanced in the usual manner; but the rare exception must not abolish the rule, and still less must high birth be admitted as a substitute for a certificate.

3. The number of persons in office is in proportion very great in Prussia; and yet, for the most part, they have more to do than elsewhere. The principal cause of this is, that the provincial governments and the ministerial departments busy themselves about far too many things, require far too many Reports, and issue too many decisions. The number of papers annually received might, without any detriment to the progress of business, certainly be reduced to one-half. In general, every body makes these complaints of the much writing of his superiors, but (from false conscientiousness or bad habit) follows their evil example as soon as he succeeds to their office.

4. The English have reduced, with more rigour than elsewhere, not only the mere sinecures, but also the number of the really working but unnecessary officers, and have entirely dispensed with whole departments,—for instance, the passport-office and the censorship.

5. Labour and expense have been increased by some late regulations; among these I reckon

the breaking up or division of the department of finance, and that of the minister of justice, which are not easy to be justified in theory, or likely to prove beneficial in practice.

I spoke of passports; there is nothing of which Englishmen visiting the Continent complain so much as of the annoyances connected with them, and which are wholly unknown in their country. It would be unfair to deny the different position of this insular kingdom, and all at once to give to every vagabond, whether of high or low birth, only one passport, namely, a general free passport. But as the interrogatories at the city-gates, which were long considered as indispensable, have been abolished, without any bad consequences whatever, many useless annoyances might doubtless be done away with, which seem to have been introduced, only that certain insignificant personages might give themselves an air of importance. The prying after coffee, so much complained of and ridiculed during the time of Frederic II., and of the French *Regie*, is happily at an end; but in its place a prying into the characters of men appears to be here and there coming into vogue, which is still less to be generally justified. The ancient principle, *quisquis præsumitur bonus*, is converted into the opposite, *quisquis præsumitur malus*; and as it is notorious that by the fall of Adam all men are really infected with sin, the friends of the new system of presumption make no difficulty in finding the proof everywhere, if you will only leave them time

enough to inspect and to examine the reverse and dark side of every individual. Nay, some classes,—for instance, the students,—are treated according to the *formula concordiæ* (which does not allow any man to have a particle of good in him), and many zealous administrators of the police persecute all, as if descendants of those at the Wartburg, even unto the tenth generation, though those who are now living are not the representatives of the others, either by descent or by adoption. Certainly there are among the students (the youth) coxcombs and fools, who fancy that they could take the world upon their shoulders and gallop away with it; but on the other hand, among their adversaries, (the aged,) people who would have the sun stand still in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, because they find walking troublesome.

No great states can now do without a public, well-regulated police, and even the Londoners are now sensible of the great use of theirs. The French have always done too much in this way, and the English too little. Let us hope that Germany will keep a just medium, and that no government, out of hatred to the French, will follow their example. Germany cannot and must not be in any wise governed and organized on the French model. This is sometimes forgotten by the absolutists, and oftener by the ultra-liberals; and with the perpetual transition of the French from the one extreme to the other, which would be the true model? Or shall we pass

through all these monthly changes, these ebbs and flows, in a spirit of imitation, which must be doubly absurd, unnatural, and mischievous?

With respect to the censorship, which I mentioned with the police, do not you, a burnt child, you exclaim to me, dread the fire? Make yourself easy; I meant to praise our censorship. The form of the three instances is good and liberal enough, had not an excessive anxiousness seized the persons, whence arises the defect, that we have remained for years on the same spot, and have not been educated gradually (the only salutary method) for freedom. And this anxiousness extends even to criticisms on actors and singers. Is that praise, you ask? Undoubtedly: for how trifling do these reproaches appear in comparison with those which we must make the French. First, unrestrained freedom, and boundless abuse of it, in a licentious press, and an infamous sinful theatre, and now a sudden leap into the other extreme, as if it were not possible to sail between Scylla and Charybdis. At present, the greater part (that is, the majority of the two chambers) are convinced that the measures adopted are necessary and salutary; but the number of those who approve will diminish every year, nay, every day; what has now been conceded (merely from an invincible love of change) will be stigmatized as an intolerable return towards barbarism. Then comes a new explosion, a new *salto mortale*, and licentiousness springing up in the soil of restraint, and so *ad infinitum*.

From all this every German may learn, if he is not as blind as a beetle, that we must educate ourselves, and must not bespeak political instructors from France, or imitate their mode of proceeding. It is true I have often said this before, but it cannot be too often repeated.

Enough for to-day—Farewell.

LETTER LXV.

FINANCES.

London, September 8th, 1835.

"In all parts of the world men must die and pay taxes." This expression of Franklin does not, however, exclude the existence, and the usefulness of the sciences of medicine and finance; on the contrary, it affords a consolation, and a certain freedom, to alleviate the bitterness of necessity. The quack shortens life, the man of science prolongs it; the former disregards measure, place, and time, and the latter attains his objects with the smallest means, and in the shortest way. Hippocrates is universally considered as the father of genuine medicine; but whom we are to place at the head of all finances, it might not be so easy to determine. The Sabbatical year and Jubilee of Moses, and the Agrarian Law of Lycurgus, are only ineffectual, very harsh experiments. It is in the laws of Solon and Servius Tullius, as I have already observed, that we first discover more vigorous and active thought; and the Athenian manifests, in this respect also, his genius and ability. Rome gradually transferred all burdens to the conquered, and forgot that a people who are not always ready to stake their own lives and fortunes, in the end necessarily become enervated, and go to ruin.

Financial distress is as old as history. Or was

it not, for instance, a cruel and unjust system of finance, when the Helots were excluded from the possession of land, and yet bound to the heaviest contributions? The Gracchi, with all their ambition, were animated by sentiments of humanity. They wished to put an end to the monopoly of the great with respect to the people, and of the Romans with respect to the allies; and with the new political system, to introduce also another mode of taxation. Their attempt failed; partly in consequence of selfish opposition, and partly because their means were too mechanical, and aimed rather at an external equality, which cannot be maintained, than an ever active resource, which a judicious system of finance alone can afford. All that we see of this kind in the old world, after the fall of the Gracchi, is only tyrannical extortion, or servile concession, till a general material and intellectual bankruptcy could no longer be denied, and the German tribes kicked down all the trumpery, and exclaimed *va banque*. It is remarkable, that in the ancient world (before the establishment of national credit) political revolutions were connected with private bankruptcies, and the pecuniary embarrassments of individuals, as in modern times, with public bankruptcies and the financial embarrassments of government. Thus the legislation of Solon, of the Decemvirs, and of the Gracchi, arose from the insupportable distress of individuals—the Danish, English, and French revolutions, on the contrary, from the distress of the governments.

The art of finance, in the middle ages, was, if

I may say so, of a negative kind. It appears admirable that the states and nations, for the most part, did without the complex financial means of earlier and later times. All the great articles of expenditure of our days are wanting; for churches, army, civil list, national debt, &c. They had, at that time, no money, and yet often did more than in modern times, because they effected everything without money, and now we cannot stir an inch without money. The golden blood, which almost alone produces circulation in modern states, was unknown in the middle ages; their life and soul did not depend on this blood, this metallic element. Every individual gained, without the medium of money, what he wanted; and the whole was entirely kept together by ideas. When their power was lost in the feudal system, and ecclesiastical system, the artificial edifice broke down, and we have had to seek, since Machiavelli, as well as a new public law, a new science of finance.

Every nation, every age, fancied that it had discovered it, and fondled its own bantling with superstitious predilection. Yet none has ever attained such growth, none, like an evil destructive spirit, has traversed so many countries, and tormented so many nations, as that which bears the name of Colbert. And yet many still kneel before this European idol, and worship it. Sir Henry Parnell says, with great reason; "The statesmen who invented, supported, and still support, the prohibitory system, deserve to be reckoned among the greatest enemies of mankind."

But enough by way of preface. The transition to England from the point last touched upon is very easy. Permit me to begin with former times. During the reigns of Henry V. and VI., the annual revenue amounted to between 60,000*l.* and 70,000*l.* It rose, under Edward IV. and Richard III., to about 100,000*l.* Henry VII.'s knowledge of the value of money led him to adopt rigorous measures of finance; but his son, Henry VIII., not only spent the enormous treasure, for that time, of 1,800,000*l.*, but plundered, and then squandered, the property of the churches and monasteries. Reprehensible as this is in itself, this bad management contributed to make the king dependent on the parliament; a covetous king like Henry VII., after the acquisition of the entire property of the church, might easily have made himself an independent tyrant. Under Henry VIII.'s reign, we find a poll-tax, increasing from 4*d.* to 10 marks; forced loans, in proportion to property, a depreciation of the currency, and other equivocal or blameable financial measures. Edward VI. left debts to the amount of 240,000*l.*, and paid 14 per cent. interest for the money that he borrowed. Under Queen Mary, much of the church property was restored, but many of the crown domains were sold to meet the expenditure. The popularity of Queen Elizabeth chiefly arose from her being a very good manager, never burdening the people with excessive demands. She left more outstanding claims than debts; and her annual income amounted to about 500,000*l.* When well-founded complaints were made of the innumerable, injudicious, com-

mercial monopolies, (for instance, of salt, iron, gunpowder, potashes, brandy, starch, brimstone, leather, &c.,) the queen very prudently adopted a better system.

After the king's *own* revenues, from the diminished domains, were scarcely sufficient for himself, much less for the public expenditure, the necessity for grants of taxes became daily more evident, and, under James I., began the struggle about the limits of the wants, and the right or the duty of granting money. The rebellion under Charles I. had its first and strongest root in the complaints of the king's arbitrary financial proceedings. Just resistance degenerated into unjust attack; and the financial history of the Long Parliament under Cromwell proves that revolutions cost the people very dear. In the time of the Long Parliament, we find the first land-tax, the first excise on liquor, bread, flour and salt; an augmentation of the tolls, and postage; sequestration of the tithes; seizure of innumerable estates; the obligation to quarter and maintain soldiers; the sale of the crown and church property, &c. And with these violent measures we find proposals and ordinances which, in our times, would be only laughed at; for instance, that every one should eat one meal less every week, and pay into the treasury what was saved by it. In nineteen years, which, according to the earlier scale of expenditure, would have required about 20,000,000*l.*, the revolutionary government levied and spent 83,000,000*l.* The leaders, too, took good care of themselves. Bradshaw, for instance, the president of the tribunal

which condemned the king, had 1000*l.* a year and a royal palace; Lenthal, the speaker, 6000*l.*; the saints, as they were called, received above 679,000*l.*; and the spies cost the Protector 60,000*l.* a year.

Under Charles II., the annual revenue and expenditure was above a million, or from—

The Domains	£100,000
Customs	400,000
Window-tax	5,000
Post-office	26,000
Excise	274,000
Hearth-money	170,000
Tithes and first-fruits	18,000
Mint	12,000
Wine licences	20,000
Sundries	54,000
Total	£1,081,000

The expenditure amounted to—

The internal administration	£460,000
Navy	300,000
Army	212,000
Ordnance	40,000
Royal debts	100,000
Sundries	37,000
Total	£1,149,000

All feudal payments were abolished in this period, a measure which was naturally produced by the gradual advance of the age. But that the indemnity for them was, for the most part, raised by taxes, which bore heavier, in proportion, on the lower than on the higher classes, who were essential gainers by the change, this was, at the

same time, a great error and an injustice, fruitful in consequences.

Under the reign of William III., the annual expenditure, in time of peace, was about 1,900,000*l.**; and the total amount of the revenue during his whole reign about—

From Customs . .	£13,000,000
Excise . .	13,000,000
Land-tax . .	19,000,000
Poll-tax . .	2,500,000
Births, marriages, burials, and bachelors .	275,000
Loans, &c. .	9,700,000
Temporary loans	13,300,000
In round numbers, about	72,000,000

The poll-tax rose from 1*s.* to 1*l.* 5*s.*

	s.	*d.*		*l.*	*s.*
The tax on burials from	4	0	to	50	0
„ Births .	2	0	to	30	0
„ Marriages	2	6	to	50	0
„ Bachelors	1	0	to	12	10

To the poll-tax all non-jurors paid double.

Under William III., the Bank was founded,

* [The statement at pages 272, 273, respecting Queen Anne's revenue and expenditure, appears to be quite erroneous: if a year of peace cost only 2,000,000*l.* and a year of war only 4,336,000*l.*, she could not have spent 122,000,000*l.* in twelve years (had they even been all years of war, the expenditure ought to have been less than 53,000,000*l.*), and her 62,000,000*l.* revenue would have been 10,000,000*l.* more than enough, so that she needed not loans of 59,000,000*l.* In page 286, there must be a mistake about the reduction of the interest of the debt; for if a reduction of the funded debt of nearly 70,000,000*l.* produced a diminution of the interest of less than 5,000,000*l.*, it is quite impossible with such sums that the diminution of the unfunded debt by 15,000,000*l.* should effect a reduction of 2,500,000*l.* in the interest.]—*Translator.*

and the first funded debt arose. Under the reign of Queen Anne, a year of peace cost 2,000,000; and a year of war, 4,336,000. During her twelve years' reign—

The Customs . .	£15,000,000
Raised excise .	20,000,000
Land-tax . .	12,000,000
Post, stamps, &c. .	5,000,000
	62,000,000
Temporary loans .	59,000,000
Total . .	£122,000,000

The expenditure amounted to,—

For the Civil List .	£7,500,000
Navy . .	23,500,000
Army . .	33,000,000
Ordnance .	2,000,000
Repaid loans .	31,500,000
Interest of the debt	22,500,000
Sundries .	2,000,000
Total .	£122,000,000

Under George I. the civil list was fixed at 700,000*l.*; the peace establishment was about 2,500,000*l.*; and many taxes on the export of home produce and manufactures abolished. The land-tax levied on Roman Catholics was still higher than on Protestants. Under George II., the revenue, during the thirty-three years of his reign (independent of the loans), amounted to about 217,000,000*l.* While the national debt, during the same time, caused an expenditure of

93,000,000*l.*, other things appear quite trifling and petty: for instance, 152,000*l.* for the clergy; 45,000*l.* for London Bridge; 22,000*l.* for public rewards, &c.

Under George III., every thing was on a greater scale: the revenue amounted in the year

1761 . .	£ 8,800,000
1771 . .	9,600,000
1781 . .	12,400,000
1791 . .	16,600,000
1801 . .	34,000,000
1811 . .	65,000,000
1813 . .	68,800,000
1815 . .	72,210,000
1833 . .	46,271,000

In the same proportion, the expenses of the army increased: for instance, in

1780 . .	£ 6,500,000
1795 . .	11,500,000
1805 . .	18,500,000
1811 . .	21,000,000
1813 . .	33,000,000 &c.

From 1688 to 1788, according to Sinclair,

The Civil List cost		£80,000,000	
Navy	„	244,000,000	510,000,000
Army	„	340,000,000	
Ordnance	„	30,000,000	
Sundries	„	14,000,000	
Debts & interest		390,000,000	
In round numbers		1,000,000,000	

Including the loans, there were paid into the Treasury, in—

1801 . .	£ 95,000,000
1811 . .	133,000,000
1813 . .	176,000,000
1815 . .	170,000,000

The debt amounted, at the close of the government of—

William III., to	£ 16,000,000
Anne . .	54,000,000
George I. .	52,000,000
1748 . .	78,000,000
1762 . .	146,000,000
1783 . .	238,000,000
1793 . .	233,000,000
1803 . .	528,000,000
1816 . .	860,000,000

London, September 10, 1835.

Though the details which I have here given you are, on the one hand, very scanty and insufficient, yet, on the other hand, the features of the picture are drawn so marked and strong, that, like many Englishmen, you may, perhaps, be alarmed at the enormous burthen of the taxes and debt, and exclaim, "If Great Britain can be cured of all other disorders, here is one that is incurable—which leads, with rapid strides, to death, and must have already produced a state of complete exhaustion. Interest to the amount of 30,000,000*l.* per annum, far more than half of the public revenue; more than four years' revenue of the whole Prussian monarchy! How long can a country bear such an enormous, useless expense, without being completely ruined?"

Allow me to interrupt this dirge, and to answer boldly, if the state of things is so very bad, and the danger so great, well then England must become bankrupt, and annihilate at once the public debt and the interest of it. If you affirm that the remedy is worse than the disease, and would produce a degree of distress that must far exceed that which is now complained of, then you at least allow, indirectly, that the expenditure is not useless, but necessary and salutary. All public debts are, besides, the property of individuals; and I affirm that there are cases in which this private property cannot remain inviolate and sacred without sacrificing the whole. In this case, a reduction or annihilation of the debt must take place. This is proved by the experience of all ages from Solon's *Seisachtheia*, to the Vienna redemption bonds. It must be allowed that this is not a healthy state of things, and there is just reason to accuse those who have produced it; but, I repeat, he is the worst surgeon who, when there is no other remedy at hand, rather suffers the diseased limb to be seized with mortification than amputate it. If England, therefore, were really reduced to such a state, it might continue to live after the amputation, as well as Athens, Rome, Austria, France, and other states. It is, therefore, a mistake to designate the evil as absolutely mortal.

How far England is from the necessity of becoming bankrupt will appear below; I will here but just mention a circumstance which might excuse a reduction of the debt, while, at the same

time, it proves the great powers of vitality that England possesses, and the impropriety of such a step. The greater part of the loans was contracted in stock, according to its current value. The government submitted to the low price, if the interest of the new debt did not appear to be too burthensome. It would, perhaps, have been better to have granted higher interest, and to have irrevocably fixed the amount of the principal for all future times. What has happened?

In the first place, notwithstanding the asserted desperate state of affairs, the price of stocks has risen enormously; so that the debt contracted between 1775 and 1816 is now worth from 180,000,000*l.* to 200,000,000*l.* more than in unfavourable years.

Secondly. The repayment of the principal, and the payment of the interest, are no longer made in a depreciated paper currency, but in coin, whence the greatest advantages accrue to the lender and the receiver. Supposing, for instance, the difference of the value between paper and gold to be only 1 per cent., the national debt is increased to 8,000,000*l.*, if 3 per cent., to 24,000,000*l.*, and if 25 per cent., to 200,000,000*l.* Some persons say, he who a certain number of years ago purchased land for 60*l.*, possesses at present only a value of 45*l.*, whereas the property of him who bought stocks at 60*l.* is increased to 90*l.*, while, at the same time, all prices, and the interest of money otherwise invested, have declined. Take another example:—At the time when the funds were at the lowest, 150 guineas

were worth 192*l.*; with this stock was purchased at 61 per cent., and the purchaser became a public creditor for 315*l.* This stock rose to 90 per cent., and produced above 6 per cent. interest, and the 150 guineas at last became 268 guineas. (Browning, p. 468.) If, therefore, the interest and principal were reduced to a certain point, the smaller sums would still amount to fully as much as the original loan and the original interest, only the profit of the operation, or the speculation, would be lost. Out of all the reasons which might, notwithstanding, be adduced against such a measure, I will mention only one, but that is decisive: the last holder would bear the whole loss, and be ruined.

I return to some more general observations:—Every state, like an individual, ought to make shift with its revenue, and contract no debts. It should rather lay by something for extraordinary expenses, which always occur, or take care, in some way or other, to bring them into account. There are, however, exceptions to this rule: the borrowed capital may, for instance, be employed to advantage—may produce great interest—deliver a state from impending danger, &c. The idea of funding debts, that is to say, of immediately providing only for the payment of the interest, has, undoubtedly, facilitated some extraordinary exertions, and produced extraordinary effects; but in leaving the main burthen to posterity, to whom every day will bring its own care, I act selfishly and unnaturally. This feeling, or this conviction, led to the plan proposed by Walpole,

and carried into effect by Pitt, constantly to diminish the debt by a sinking fund. But even in Pitt's time, this means appeared insufficient, and his income-tax compelled the living generation to make greater exertions. But since 1829, all operations through a special sinking fund have ceased. This measure, say some, is indiscreet, or foolish, or both together.

If we more closely examine this objection, we cannot deny, in general, the truth of the old proverb, "He who pays his debts improves his fortune." He, however, who pays on one hand, while he borrows on the other, and borrows, perhaps, at a higher interest, is very far from improving his circumstances. And this happened in England several times, so that the sinking fund did not improve the public fortune, on one hand, so much as it was reduced upon the other. Properly speaking, the fear of a careless, prodigal administration of the finances produced the idea of tying the hands of the government by a sacred, inviolable sinking fund; it bound itself as it were by a voluntary vow. But this availed just as much as if a man should make a vow not to go and drink at a public-house, but have the liquor brought home to him. Every payment of debts rests upon a surplus of income above the expenditure; if this surplus is wanting, every other measure is but a delusion. Whether the finances have been improved without a sinking fund and vows, will appear in the sequel.

The inquiry, whether the loans were judiciously

contracted and employed,—whether the wars carried on by their means were necessary,—whether the whole was saved by the sacrifice of a part, &c.,—is far too complex for me to enter upon here. However, I will concede more than any person can reasonably require; namely, that all the sums borrowed were injudiciously employed, and that the disbursement of them, considered in a financial point of view, is a total loss. How, then, does the matter stand now, at this moment? Is there not for every debtor a creditor? for every expense a receipt? Are not, for the most part, the same persons both debtors and creditors?—the former, inasmuch as they contribute to the taxes for the payment of the interest; the latter, inasmuch as they receive the interest. The whole principal of the national debt may, if you please, have been scattered in the air, or sunk in the sea,—been worn out in shoes and clothes, or consumed in meat and bread;—considered in another point of view, it still exists,—is wealth and property yielding a revenue. We may therefore as well rejoice that England has such immense capital, as lament that it is burthened with so many debts; for every debt is here a capital. If these debts were of such little value that this value (namely, the price of stocks) indicated the loss sustained, instead of a great profit; if the interest could only be paid by new loans; if the debts were in the country, and the proprietors of the capital out of the country;—the state of affairs would be very different, and as deplorable as in many parts of

Europe. But if all the national debt and the payment of the interest were to be annihilated tomorrow, there would, properly speaking, be no change at all, for the *whole* country, its wealth or its poverty, would remain the same as they are; and if the fundholders lost a revenue of 30,000,000*l.* (that is, the interest of the funds), on the other hand, taxes to the amount of 30,000,000*l.* would be abolished. If any person had exactly as much to receive in interest as he has to contribute in taxes for the payment of the interest, the annihilation of the national debt and the simultaneous remission of taxes would not make the slightest difference; and the monster might be destroyed by a single stroke of the pen. It is only because the proportions of payment and receipt are very different in the cases of individuals, that the present machinery must remain, and give to every one his due. It is certainly more complex and expensive than if every individual could settle with his neighbour; but, on the other hand, it affords a convenient opportunity to individuals to invest any surplus of their income, and it is also an inducement to save. At all events, it is sufficiently clear, from what I have said, that the English national debt is by no means a mortal disease, or a proof of poverty and misery. It is a proof of wealth and of strength, which is certainly far from being exhausted.

But, if you will not come into my views, I will show you, in the sequel, what has been done to reduce the amount of the national debt.

In the year 1731 the numbers of persons receiving interest in the funds were—

Not above	£5	. .	58,000
„ „	10	. .	29,000
„ „	50	. .	64,000
„ „	100	. .	16,000
„ „	200	. .	9,000
„ „	300	. .	3,000
„ „	500	. .	2,000
„ „	1,000	. .	1,000
„ „	2,000	. .	283
Above	2,000	. .	104

In the year 1830 the interest was paid to 275,000 persons, whence we may at least discover that the capital of the national debt is not in the hands of a few excessively rich individuals. But the possessors, that is, the creditors, are certainly to be considered as the rich, when we compare them with the debtors, that is, with those who must find means for paying the interest of the national debt by the taxes imposed upon them. If the above-made consideration of both parts divided the light and shade equally, or balanced the gain with the loss, the national debt appears, on the other hand, to be a great evil for the tax-payers who receive no part of the interest. On this account complaints arose, that almost every article of produce and consumption was heavily taxed, while the fundholder, as such, was wholly free. The income arising from agriculture and manufactures, it was alleged, bore alone the burthens for the poor, repair of the roads, &c., and

this all in an increasing proportion; and at a time too when those great branches of industry were less productive than before: whereas the fundholder had, during this time, acquired an enormous increase of his capital and property, and daily continues to gain, by his exemption from taxes.

For these and similar reasons, Lord Althorp proposed, in February, 1831, to levy a stamp-duty on every transfer in the funds. Against this it was objected, in the first place, that nearly 600,000,000 always remain in the same hands, and only the smaller remaining portion fluctuates: for which reason, if it was resolved really to tax the public creditor, some other mode must be adopted. But it was argued further, that the plan was contrary to the law, and to the promises given, and to prudence: it would ruin public credit, drive capital out of the country, would deter people from saving money, and in fact lay a tax upon industry, skill, and economy. This opposition induced the minister to give up his plan; and the public creditor is only taxed indirectly, when the general lowering of the rate of interest obliges him to be satisfied with less per cent. than he received before.

The English have not unfrequently boasted, that they avoid oppressing the poor by taxing the principal necessaries of life; yet it may be proved, that their system of taxation unquestionably takes from the poor man more per cent. of his income than from the rich man. Besides, the above assertion is true only with respect to meat:

for all kinds of liquors were excessively taxed; and the corn-laws for a long time included such a tax on bread, that our tax on flour appears like nothing, and wholly disappears in the fluctuation of the market-prices. For these reasons many persons have required that the whole of the existing system of taxation shall be abolished, and a general tax on income and property be introduced in its stead. They insisted that such a tax alone would be correct and equitable, would put an end to all injustice, would lead to nature and simplicity, and make no claim except when the payment would be attended with no difficulty. To refute these assertions, it has been alleged, how odious that tax was during the war, and how eagerly the abolition of it was demanded, nay extorted,—to what endless examinations it led,—how impossible it was to obtain correct statements,—how many premeditated untruths and false oaths it occasioned, &c. Besides, every total change in a system of taxation was accompanied with innumerable difficulties, and with unjust gain or loss to individuals. This revenue should, therefore, be reserved for extraordinary emergencies in time of war.

In spite of all these practical objections to the income and property tax, it has always been presumed, nay expressly asserted, to be perfect in theory. But I would ask, can theory be so separated from practice? If theory approves of anything on truly scientific grounds, the difficulties which practice throws in the way cannot be insuperable; or, if this is the case, we may affirm, that the theory

is superficial and insufficient. I will set aside all the weighty considerations which arise on an income and property tax; for instance, the various kinds of income, the gradations of payment, property which yields or does not yield a profit, &c.; and will touch only on one point, which, to my knowledge, was never discussed, and yet is of decisive importance. All parties lay down, as an incontrovertible principle, that every man is able to pay taxes in proportion to his income; but they never inquire after his expenditure; and yet a correct result is not to be obtained till these two points, which are necessarily connected, can be ascertained. Properly speaking, only the surplus income above the necessary expenditure, or equal income with equal taxes, should be liable to taxation. But if I levy the tax solely according to the income, and pay no regard to the expenditure of the tax-payer, the abstract equality of the burthen disappears before the power of circumstances; and the harshness and injustice are as evident as in every other mode of taxation. Two persons in office, for instance, having an equal salary, are equally rated to the income-tax; but if one is unmarried, and the other has ten children to provide for, is this apparent equality (which pays no attention to expenditure) the real theoretical equality which is so much boasted of?

Perhaps you tell me that I speak too long, and too diffusely of secondary things, probably because there is not much of importance to say respecting the main question. On the contrary,

I have saved these agreeable main reasons for the last.

		1835.
On the 5th Jan., 1816, the funded debt was . . .	£816,311,939	£743,675,000
The unfunded debt . . .	43,937,707	28,521,550
Total	860,249,646	772,186,550
Deduct	772,186,550	
Now less	88,063,096	
The interest was of the funded debt	28,563,914	23,742,647
Unfunded debt	3,187,702	691,294
Total	31,751,616	24,433,941
Deduct	24,433,941	
Now less	7,317,675	

These results are rendered more advantageous by two important facts:—

First, That in 1816 the usual interest of Exchequer bills was 5*l.* 6*s.* 5½*d.*, but now only (per cent.) 2*l.* 5*s.* 7*d.*

Secondly, That in 1816 the annuities were, to the permanent debt, as one to sixteen; now, on the other hand, as one to six: whence it follows that the interest diminishes indeed less than if no part of the funded debt had been converted into annuities, but that both principal and interest are now in a much more rapid progress towards payment. But stopping only at what has been above stated, England, notwithstanding the increase of annuities, has, since the peace, reduced the amount of the annual interest in round numbers by 51,210,000 dollars, and the principal of the debt 616,000,000. What state in Europe

can boast of a similar progress? Have not most of them increased their debt since the peace, instead of diminishing it? Are they not thereby proceeding, in a revolutionary manner, to bankruptcy?

If this bugbear, the national debt, has lost much of its terrors on closer examination, does not the other face of this Janus-head, the taxes, appear the more ruinous? Whatever complaints and prophecies are now uttered in this respect, cannot surpass what was said by Davenant on the same subject more than a hundred years ago. "Our gold and our silver diminishes; the revenue decreases; wool falls in price; the number of ships declines; the country-seats will tumble into ruins; industry will vanish; in a word, we bear in ourselves all the indications of a nation hastening to decay." Like him, many political economists, looking only at the naked figures, assert that England is taxed ten times as high as Poland for instance, because every tax-payer has to pay a sum ten times as large. But if the Englishman, in spite of this nominally tenfold amount of his taxes, eats, drinks, lodges, and is clothed better, obtains more enjoyments for the mind and body, and in the end has far more left than the Pole, where is the taxation the highest and most oppressive?

So far as the English mode of taxation rested on the system of prohibition, it naturally suffered from all the evils resulting from it; but since the greatest monopolies have been abolished, namely, slavery, the act of navigation, the exclusive trade

to India, the inferior evils and errors may be corrected; at least, it appears sooner than in France, where more regard is paid to the interest of individuals than to that of the nation in general. In England even the influence of such a body as the East India Company was unable to check the progress of salutary reform; but in France, if the possessor of an iron-work presents himself with his *æs triplex circa pectus* before the minister of commerce, the latter looks upon him as invincible, and loses all his courage. The merchants of London, Glasgow, and other cities have declared, with equal earnestness and soundness of reasoning, against the above erroneous system, and where science and experience so combine, a correct result and improvement cannot long be wanting. Sir Henry Parnell justly lays down a theoretical principle, but which, in spite of all contradiction, was carried through in Prussia above fifteen years ago, and actually put in practice, to the general advantage. "It would be injudicious (he says) to put off the removal of these evils till we can persuade other nations to do the same. We renounce the possibility and the advantage of helping ourselves. All protecting duties of manufactures are, at the long run, useless, nay, prejudicial. They ought to be reduced to 10 per cent., and be levied solely for the increase of the public revenue, but not to establish a monopoly."

When the smuggler can insure his trade at from 10 to 15 per cent., then every tax which exceeds this rate must of course produce and increase the

evil; but innumerable articles were, and still are, taxed much higher, according to the old and new tariffs. Thus, for instance:—

Cotton goods,	paid on	£100	value, £20
Glass	„	„	30
Leather	„	„	30
Linen	„	„	40
Blacklead pencils		„	40
Cider, per ton		„	21

The duty on borax was 50 per cent. of its value; on coffee, from 100 to 150; pepper, 400; brandy, above 500; tobacco, from 900 to 1000. An annual expenditure of 700,000*l.*, for the suppression of the contraband trade could not have so much effect as a judicious reduction of the duties of custom. Such reduction often led to an increased consumption, so that the revenue was rather augmented than diminished by it. Thus, for example, in the year 1825, the gallon of wine paid 11*s.* 5*d.*, and 106,000*l.* were paid on 183,000 gallons; in the year 1829, however, the duty was 6*s.*, and 115,000*l.* were paid on 380,000 gallons. In 1808, the duty on coffee was 2*s.* a pound, and the receipts amounted to 144,000*l.* In 1829 the duty was only 6*d.*, and the total receipts 378,000*l.* The consumption had increased from 4,000,000 to above 16,000,000 of pounds. The reduction of taxes, which by arithmetical calculation should have produced a falling off of more than 9,000,000 between the years 1823-1827, ended with the loss of 3,000,000.

Besides the high rate of duty, the English Custom-house laws make far too many distinc-

tions in individual articles, and extend to a number of things, which bring in so little, that they ought to be struck out, and the trouble of collecting saved. In the same manner, as nobody now thinks that all articles of consumption ought to be subject to an excise duty, the folly of subjecting all things to custom-house duty should be at length renounced. As a proof of these assertions let it suffice to say that, under the article *skins*, there are 91 items; under the article *wood* 143 items are mentioned as subject to a different mode of taxation and treatment. Of 567 principal articles, 18 produced a receipt of 100,000*l*., and above; 19 from 50,000*l*. to 100,000*l*.; 20 from 10,000*l*. to 25,000*l*.; 510 less than 10,000*l*.

It would certainly be better to retain the duty, on the first three classes only, and the savings in the management would most probably make up for the deficiency. A similar simplification has been attempted in the excise. Thus the abolished tax on perry and cider brought in only 37,000*l*.; on stone jars 3000*l*.

By far the greater part of all the public revenue in England is raised in the shape of custom-house duties and excise. These amounted, in the year 1827, in two almost equal parts, to 36,000,000 in round numbers. Of this about 6,000,000 fell on raw materials; 2,000,000 on manufactures; 800,000 on corn; and 27,000,000 on articles of luxury, or at least not of absolute necessity. A tax on raw materials cannot be justified either on the old, or on the new system; and a tax on manufactures, unless it is very productive, is

liable to manifold difficulties. The English Government has acknowledged this in the changes which it has made within these few years.

London, 11th September, 1835.

I subjoin first some particulars, then more general results.

Timber.—In the year 1809, the duties on Baltic timber were so augmented, that Canada timber (and the North American which goes by this name) obtained a monopoly. In reliance on this monopoly, money was invested, and now it is considered as inviolate, though England has lost, according to an estimate that has been made, the sum of 20,000,000*l.* since that time, besides, the ships built of Canada timber last only half as long, and the houses go to decay. Thirteen North European ships sailed in one year to Canada, and their cargo of timber was brought to England as Canadian. Surely an almost incredible result of an absurd system. If England treats in this manner two of the chief export articles of Prussia, timber and corn, it can hardly insist on reciprocity.

Wine.—The consumption amounted in 1831 to—

	Gallons—at 277 cubic inches per gallon, and 52½ gallons per hogshead.
Cape wine	537,000
French wine	337,000
Madeira	228,000
Portuguese	2,933,000
	4,035,000

Brought forward	4,035,000
Spanish . .	2,153,000
Rhenish . . .	71,000
Canary . .	105,000
Fayal . . .	2,000
Sicilian, and other kinds	259,000
	6,625,000
Or, according to another estimate,	6,212,000

The duty which, in the year 1819, increased gradually from 7*s.* 7*d.* to 11*s.* 5½*d.* per gallon, was fixed, in the year 1831, at 5*s.* 6*d.* per gallon, on all wines without distinction; and in this case, therefore, a different system was adopted from that applied to tea, where three different gradations of duty are imposed in proportion to the value, namely, 1*s.* 6*d.*, 2*s.* 2*d.*, and 3*s.* per pound. These duties on an article of such general consumption are still very high; but the prices are falling since the trade to India has become free, which will certainly produce an increased demand. It is intended that in August next year, those three gradations of duty shall, for important reasons, be abolished, and all kinds of tea be subject to the same duty.

Tobacco.—The cultivation of tobacco is prohibited in England and Scotland, and it was intended to extend the prohibition to Ireland, that it might be more easy to tax foreign tobacco. This is, undoubtedly, an arbitrary mode of proceeding, and it was still less to be approved that for Ireland, in particular, the duty rose, according to the difference of the sorts, from 600 to 1200

per cent. of the value. The result is that, notwithstanding the increasing population, the consumption declined from the year 1794 to 1833, from 9,400,000 lbs. to about 4,400,000 lbs.; but, meantime 3,500,000 lbs., or, as others say, three-fourths of the whole consumption, was smuggled. (Hansard, vol. ii. p. 330; vol. v. p. 730; Edinburgh Review, vol. li. p. 217.) On an average, a duty of 3*s.* per pound is still levied on tobacco.

Spirits.—The duty on spirits was, by degrees, very much increased, in the two-fold hope of augmenting the revenue, and of diminishing the passion for drinking. The expectation was disappointed in both respects—the revenue lost by smuggling, and the consumption became daily greater. When, in the year 1822, for instance, the duty per gallon was 5*s.* 6*d.*, it was paid in Ireland on 2,328,000 gallons, and in Scotland on 2,079,000; whereas, the actual consumption was estimated, in the former country, at 10,000,000, and in the latter at 6,000,000 gallons. Besides, as long as the duty in England is much higher than in Scotland, large quantities will probably be smuggled across the frontiers. At least, it is difficult to understand how the consumption in 1830 could be estimated per head,

	Pints.
In England and Wales, at	$4\frac{3}{7}$
In Ireland . . .	$9\frac{3}{5}$
In Scotland . .	$20\frac{1}{11}$

Others affirm that, by smuggling, expenses, &c., 70 per cent. of the actual revenue is lost; and that in Scotland, while 16,000,000 gallons pay

duty; drawbacks were granted for 17,000,000; a mode of proceeding which reminds us of the folly of the bounties on the exportation of beet-root sugar in France. The reduction of the duty in all parts of the kingdom may certainly be justified, after which an equalization of it might succeed as the next step.

Glass.—Similar results appeared in the case of the duty on glass.

From 1789 to 1793, the duty on one kind of glass was 8*s.* per cwt., and 95,000 cwt. paid the duty.

From 1823 to 1825, the duty was 30*s.* per cwt., and 34,000 cwt. paid duty.

During the former period the duty on glass bottles was 4*s.* per cwt., and it was paid on 881,000 cwt.

In the latter period, the duty being 8*s.* per cwt., it was paid on 697,000 cwt.

Notwithstanding the reduction that has since taken place, the tax limited the consumption, the expense of collecting was very great, and the manufacturers were harassed by innumerable directions and regulations; for which reason the duty on flint glass has been reduced this year from 6*d.* to 2*d.* Similar complaints were made that, for the sake of taxation, the size of bricks and tiles was prescribed; or, that it was forbidden to manufacture wrapping paper of any material but tarred ropes. Such absurd and useless regulations and restrictions are still too numerous, as remnants of the ancient system which meddled in everything. Under this head, nobody certainly

will approve that the duty on paper rises to 200 per cent. on the value.

Salt was first taxed under William III., and the duty rose during the last war to 15*s.* per bushel, or, as some affirm, to forty times the cost of manufacture. Now the duty is entirely taken off, though it may be doubted whether this article might not bear a moderate duty better than many others.

Malt.—If we add together the taxes on malt, hops, and beer, no article in Great Britain was taxed higher for many years than this most favourite beverage. And to the burthen of these duties were added innumerable annoyances in the manufacture, and improper favours for the more wealthy, who brewed for their own consumption. In the year 1830 (when the malt duty was not so high as during the war) it was—(instead of 34*s.* 8*d.* as before)—

	30*s.*	8*d.*
Per quarter .		
Beer tax . .	31	11
Hop duty . .	2	0
Total .	54	7

Or, about 17*s.* on a barrel of beer, or 150 per cent. of the value of the malt used in it. This excessive duty naturally diminished the consumption of beer, and the remission of the beer-tax was equally just and judicious. The entire abolition of the malt duty is prevented by the difficulty of making up for the loss to the revenue, without an entire change in the system of taxation.

House and Window Tax.—These two taxes have been often vehemently attacked in parliament: for instance, in 1833. They fall, it was alleged, on the poor and on trade; are in no due proportion to the expenses of building; and are often injurious to health, by diminishing the number of windows. London alone pays half the house-tax, and together with the manufacturing counties of York, Lancaster, and Somerset, more than three-fourths of the whole amount. Their abolition will cause more houses to be built, will increase the consumption of timber, bricks, glass, &c.; and some means of making up for the deficiency in the revenue will be easily found. It was answered, that both taxes fell heavier on the rich than on the poor:—thus, for instance, a house, the rent of which is

	£.		£.		s.	d.	
From	10	to	12	pays	1	6	in the pound.
	20	„	40	„	2	3	„ „
	40	and above,			2	10	„ „

Houses, the rent of which is below 10*l.* a year, and which have fewer than eight windows, are entirely exempt. If a house has eight windows, 2*s.* are paid on each, and so the tax increases till, on 40 windows, each pays 7*s.* 5*d.* (Edinburgh Review, vol. lvii. p. 437; Hansard, vol. xviii. p. 716.) The cost of collection is only 5*l.* 7*s.* 7*d.* per cent. Smuggling is out of the question, and the tax has many of the advantages of an income-tax, without the difficulties. If the house-tax were to be charged, not according to the rent, but on a calculation of the value and of the cost of

erection, much trouble and many errors would ensue. In the year 1831, there were—

	Houses.
In England . .	2,233,000
In Wales . . .	153,000
In Scotland . .	369,000
Total .	2,846,000

And of these only 430,000 were liable to the house-tax, and only 377,000 to the window-tax.

London, 17th September.

I weary you with details; but these examples will suffice to draw your attention to the light and dark sides of the British system of taxation. What has been done to diminish the latter? This is the main question. To this I reply, while all the other European governments have, since the conclusion of peace, either made no reduction at all in the taxes, or in a very trifling degree, the English government, besides the above-mentioned reduction of the national debt, has done so much in this respect as to surpass all expectation. Thus the duties of Custom were reduced, or entirely abolished, on the following articles:—Coals, slate, barilla, borax, cotton, silk, leather, wine, tobacco, coffee, iron, hemp, pot-ashes, flax, indigo, ivory, quicksilver, madder, rags, ostrich feathers, books, pepper, glass, porcelain, tar, watches, fustic, ginger, shumac, tamarinds, gum-lac, toys, aloes, bed-feathers, artificial flowers, paper, zaffer, sponge, rum, Peruvian bark, oranges, lemons, almonds, raisins, sugar, wax, mahogany, rapeseed, linseed, rhubarb, sago, opium, maccaroni, gum-arabic, smalts, hair,

&c. The Excise duty has been reduced, or abolished, on malt, made-wines, brandy, wine, vinegar, cider, beer, leather, wire, candles, soap, stone bottles, printed calicoes, tiles, &c. The stamp-duty was reduced on legal writings, small bank-notes, playing cards, &c. The tax on windows, servants, carriages, horses, and dogs, was diminished. The house-tax and the income-tax were abolished. According to an official statement for the year 1832, the reductions up to that time were—

	£.
Duties of Custom .	8,990,000
Excise . . .	14,078,000
Stamp . . .	466,000
Income and Assessed Taxes	18,680,000
Post	130,000
Total .	42,344,000
Newly imposed Taxes .	5,836,000
Consequently the reduction for one year still amounted to	£36,508,000

Mr. Spring Rice, in his latest speech on the public revenue, calculated that the present revenue of Great Britain is only 5,000,000*l.* or 6,000,000*l.* more than the annual amount of the taxes taken off since the peace. The income for 1836 is estimated at 45,530,000*l.*, the expenditure at 44,715,000*l.*, and the amount of taxes taken off at 40,190,000*l.* in one year*. If we further consider, that the present reduced taxes are contributed by a far greater number of persons than the former high taxes, it appears that the

* There appears some mistake here.—*Translator.*

diminution is more considerable than the Chancellor of the Exchequer represented it, or that the individual now pays less than the half of what he did before. Finally, if we reflect in what a degree the riches of Great Britain have increased since the peace, by the ample interest of the immense capital which remains in the hands of private persons, in consequence of the remission of the taxes, the rate per cent. of the present taxes decreases, in comparison with former times, in a far greater proportion. It results evidently, and beyond all doubt, that the ability of England is infinitely greater, and its financial position infinitely better and more brilliant, than adversaries abroad believe, and grumblers at home allow. The insular situation of England has certainly facilitated many reductions of expenditure; the expense of the war-department (chiefly in consequence of the injudicious treatment of Ireland) is certainly still much too high; but what European state has a right to look here for the mote, when it does not observe, or does not choose to observe, the beam in its own eye? Some persons were of opinion that no taxes ought to be taken off, but that the surplus should be applied to paying off a larger proportion of the debt. To this it was replied, that by so doing capital might be driven to foreign countries; that every reduction of taxes produced capital, which brought much higher interest to those who could employ it in trade, than the state saved by paying off the debt. At all events, England possesses such wealth, that the government, in case of need, is able quickly to

raise the very largest sums by means of taxes and loans.

A very vehement attack was directed especially against the sinecures and useless offices. Many of the former were connected with no employment whatever, or were filled by deputies. Thus, Hume affirmed (Hansard, xvii. 295,) that Wyndham had held for fifty-three years a sinecure in Jamaica of the value of 4000*l.* per annum, and calculated that he had received, in principal and interest, above 200,000*l.* However this may be, a fixed remuneration for certain services and duties is better than all these round-about ways.

From 1828 to 1832 there were suppressed—

	Places.	Salaries.
In the Colonial and Foreign Department	2173	£226,145
In the Customs, within these 12 years	2742	273,984
In the Excise, from 1830 to 1832	507	68,000

In the higher offices of state, with salaries above 1000*l.*, a reduction of 40 per cent. was made. The whole saving of expenditure amounted to nearly 3,000,000*l.* sterling,—a very large sum, as it did not take place in interest of the debt and pensions, but only in the administration, on a total amount of 12,000,000*l.* to 15,000,000*l.* (Hansard, xix. 674.)

The evil must have been great, when such improvements were possible; nay, it might rather be asked, whether, out of zeal for economy, too much was not done, so that the public service suffered in consequence. Such sudden changes, too, would have reduced those fathers of families

to distress who were not rich according to the English estimate, or able to acquire money by some other means. Most of them, however, receive pensions according to certain principles.

No state in Europe is governed and administered at so small an expense, in proportion, as England. This advantage certainly proceeds, in part, from its insular position, and, as I have already said, will increase, when, in consequence of equitable laws, the employment of a military force in Ireland shall not be necessary, and the amount of pensions for officers, soldiers, &c. (the dead weight) rapidly decreases; but the advantage chiefly arises from the judicious arrangements which have been introduced within the last few years. Besides, the expense of collection necessarily decreases, when much may be collected and in a few places.

In the year 1832:—

	Gross Revenue.	Expense of Collection.
Customs . .	£19,684,000	£6 19 per cent.
Excise . .	18,849,000	6 „ „
Stamps . .	7,420,000	2 12 „ „
Assessed Taxes	5,339,000	4 9 „ „
Post Office .	2,277,000	28 5 „ „
Crown Lands	359,000	7 . „ „

Or, on an average upon the total gross revenue, about 6¼ per cent.

I have, indeed, shown plainly enough, that the reduction of the revenue and expenditure of England has been essentially caused by the reduction of taxes, and economy in the administration; but should any body still affirm that it is rather in

consequence of the diminution of property and of increasing distress, I will oppose some particulars, in addition to all that I have communicated in my preceding letters.

According to the Edinburgh Review, (lv. 429,) and Parnell, there were imported—

	1810.	1830.
Wool, lbs. . .	10,914,000	32,313,000
Cotton, lbs. . .	90,000,000	242,000,000
Coffee, lbs. . .	5,308,000	22,000,000
Wine, galls. . .	6,809,000	8,255,000
Tea, lbs. . . .	22,000,000	30,000,000
Pepper, lbs. . .	1,117,000	2,000,000
Raw Silk, lbs.	(1814) 1,504,000	4,256,000
Tallow, cwts.	(1790) 225,000	(1828) 1,110,000
Candles, lbs. .	54,000	117,000
Soap, lbs. . .	45,000	115,000

Still more comprehensive and various are the facts which the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Spring Rice, laid before the House in his last speech on the finances. The number of bankruptcies, for instance, had regularly diminished since 1830. The number of contributors to the savings banks increased during the last year by 36,415, and the capital of those banks (chiefly by the deposits of the lower classes) was increased by 1,032,323*l.* The official amount of exports amounted, on an average,

In 1827—1830 to 65,000,000
1831—1834 „ 78,000,000
1835 „ 85,000,000
or a higher sum than ever.

The consumption of oil increased

	From 1833,	1,131,000	gallons,
	To 1835,	2,077,000	„
Of Tea,	„	35,580,000	lbs.
Of Cotton,	„	320,210,000	„

A comparison of the average receipt of 1831—1834, with 1835 showed an increase, on

Auctions	about	12	per Cent.
Bricks	„	11	„ „
Glass	„	14	„ „
Hops	„	21	„ „
Malt	„	3	„ „
Paper	„	7	„ „
Tea	„	18	„ „
Wine Vinegar	„	13	„ „
Spirits	„	7	„ „

What does all this prove, (some obstinate disputant may object,) except that luxury everywhere increases?—but all history proves, that in the same proportion a nation degenerates, and hastens to its ruin. I reply—first of all, this position is not at all true in such a general sense; or it is, at least, equally true, that a people whose enjoyments decrease approaches to its ruin; and that a people which knows no enjoyment is scarcely above the rudeness of an almost animal existence. So important a question cannot be decided by mere commonplaces: far more accurate researches and investigations are necessary to come near the truth. I add a few remarks.

In the first place, in those times in which we

may consider luxury as the indication and consequence of decay—the population decreased, and the number of those who possessed enjoyments was limited to a few rich persons, while the oppression of the poorer classes, and of the slaves was doubled. In Great Britain, on the other hand, the population increases, and the number of those who enjoy the comforts or luxuries of life increases in the same proportion. Nobody can prove that the masses of the people are worse off than twenty years ago, or that they have not greatly benefited by the remission of so many taxes. Nobody can believe that the lords alone, with their families, consume all the meat and bread, drink all the tea and coffee, &c. But does some Heautontimorumenos think that people should eat no meat, but locusts; drink no coffee, tea, or wine, but pure water from the spring?—let him live in this mode for a few years, and afterwards I will discuss the matter with him.

Secondly, to what end all vague talking about enjoyment? Who then enjoys the wool and cotton, tallow and bricks? The increasing consumption proves, first of all, an increase of activity and exertion. That in the end, every labour deserves and meets it reward follows of course, and is as advantageous as fortunate. People certainly desire to lodge in houses built of bricks, to convert cloth and cotton into clothing, flour into bread, malt into beer, &c. He who will not consider the fruit of human labour as fruit, who will deprive industry of its reward, and conse-

quently of its charm, and decry all enjoyment as unnatural, must in the end conceive idleness, insensibility, and indifference to be the highest object of human existence.

Every people has its own peculiar mode of bodily and mental activity, as well as of bodily and mental enjoyment. But if I were to reproach the English with anything, it would certainly not be an excessive love of luxury, consuming the capital, but rather a too restless activity, which, like the balance of a watch, is never in repose, and values the possibility of many enjoyments more than the real possession of a single one. However, there arises from this circumstance an incredible and incalculable increase of capital and power. Should the future position of this country require more warlike exertions, or should a greater love for the enjoyments of peace arise, at all events there are for either more resources, for a long series of years, than at any former period.

Do not censure as foolish and childish, that while I am writing to you about agriculture, manufactures, finances, taxes, and such dry matters, I am in the end filled with the most profound and joyful feelings. How many historical tragedies have filled my head and heart for years together! how many funerals of kings and states have I attended with grief! Do not then grudge it me, if, to my fancy, glorious blossoms for the present, and fruits for the future, appear to rise from the apparently barren soil of these figures

and tables. I am only a stranger, and yet I will do more than the English require—nay, more than many approve—for I am not contented with one side or one point of view, but will comprehend, in one expression of affection, good-will to the old, the new, and the future England: they belong to and are connected with each other; and he who entirely rejects the one, or the other, commits a murder on himself and his country.

LETTER LXVI.

Concluding Observations—Municipal Reform—Lords and Commons—Political Rights—Future Reforms—State of Parties—Eulogium on England—Apprehensions and Hopes—Future Prospects—England and Germany.

September 14th, 1835.

MUST I, indeed, write my last letter from England? There is something mysterious and tragical in the idea of a *last*, from the merest trifle to the most important concerns. That one must be the last at church or school, playhouse or Parliament—that in every battle one last shot must fall—every evening one last ray be shed upon the world—every human being draw one last breath—and many similar matters, might easily afford subject for divers serious reflections. My last letter, therefore, must be written—the regret which this task inspires is overbalanced by the agreeable nature of its contents, and the confirmation of my conjectures and hopes.

The Municipal Reform Bill for England has passed; a law by the number and variety of its effects and consequences, more important perhaps than the Reform Bill, and, by its natural and moderate enactments, attended with scarcely any danger to individuals and the public. The different views of the Upper and Lower House led

to disputes, and to an excitement which, especially at certain times, rose to unbecoming passion; but, if we set aside what took place out of Parliament, some few Radicals and ultra-Tories within its walls have, fortunately, also expressed themselves with vehemence. I say fortunately, for the English people has sense enough to discover from these leaders what road it ought not to take, without equally losing its way on either side. The debates of the Upper House, of the polished aristocracy, who often had the advantage of greater moderation, self-command, and refined manners, in comparison with the bold and stormy debates in the Lower House, appeared to me to be less deserving of this praise on the present occasion. Lord John Russell complained, with reason, still more of the manner than of the matter; for the latter might proceed from honest conviction, but the ill-humour, the vexation, the acrimony, which marked most of the discussions of the Upper House, announced a false excitement, which the Lords should, above all things, avoid. By a more friendly spirit they would have made their task easier, and not have roused so many voices in the country against them. Hence has arisen a louder call for a reform of the Upper House. In general, and *à priori*, it cannot be affirmed that it never needs a reform, and is not susceptible of reform, for by this it would be improperly placed below the improveable parts of the constitution, and condemned to immobility; nay, in the end, to death. Only a rash, useless, absurd transformation must in this case, as in

every other, be opposed, and most of all, the poor insufficient scheme of a single, elective, and omnipotent chamber, or of two elective chambers. But some abuses, for instance the voting by proxy, ought not to be reckoned as essential and inviolable rights of the Upper House.

This time, in the debates on the Municipal Reform Bill, the principal members of the Lower House acted in a more exalted and noble style than many of the over-excited Lords. I reckon it among the greatest political enjoyments of my life to have seen and heard how men of the most different opinions, Russell and Peel, Spring Rice and O'Connell, kept in view, with the same moderation and prudence, only one, but that the highest, object,—the good of their country. All opinions, all passions were laid aside, in order, by noble, dignified concession, to avoid an open breach with the Upper House, and Heaven knows what misery for the country. And the Upper House followed the example; and England, after these transient clouds, stands more glorious than so many politicians would believe. My assertion, that (far otherwise than in France) the crisis here is the commencement of tranquillity, has been confirmed, also, on this occasion. Those who compared the Reformed Parliament to the French National Assemblies have, happily, been greatly mistaken in their calculations; otherwise, instead of the tranquillity and satisfaction in which England lives, the guillotine would be already at work.

I have already written to you on the ancient

municipal regulations of England, and of the resemblance of the new ones to our law. I ought now, perhaps, to enter upon the points of difference between the Lords and Commons; but they are arranged: why should I embitter my own pleasure? I therefore confine myself to two observations.

In the first place, the Upper House has, in the whole discussion, kept in view, and advocated, private rights; the Lower House rather public rights. Both are necessarily united; but the practical question, whether a public employment or right in a town belongs to the first or the second half, is, in general, very difficult to decide. For instance, if some person has founded an establishment, on the condition that one of his descendants shall always be a member of the magistracy; if any one possessed by contract an office for life, the state must be at liberty to restore the establishment, or to dissolve the contract; but, for the same reason, private rights must be indemnified. Thus our municipal ordinance allowed the dismissal of all officers before appointed for a long period, but obliged the town to indemnify them, if they were not re-elected. The attempt to represent all rights, offices, and functions, in all the towns, as eternal, inviolable private rights, and on that account to stigmatize every improvement as a robbery, could not but fail; and the middle course proposed by the Lower House was certainly the most correct. At least those persons do not act consistently, who deprive thousands of Irish of their right of voting

at elections, and would preserve it here; and the less so, as the matter was much clearer there than here.

In the second place, a main point of difference related to the qualification. Undoubtedly nothing in the world is more important than that for every business duly qualified persons should be found; but the manner of doing it is attended with very great difficulties. The Indians and Egyptians thought that they had found the best way of removing all difficulties and mistakes, by unalterably determining the fate of a man for his whole life, according to his birth; the Greeks and the Romans, on the contrary, gradually broke through all such barriers, and fell at last, in consequence, into anarchy and tyranny. In the middle ages, the right of birth in the nobility, of their vocation in the clergy, of election in the third class, prevailed—undoubtedly a more ingenious and varied organization than any of the preceding. Our age lays a particular stress upon election; but as, notwithstanding all the commendations bestowed on this form, it does not entirely confide in it, the question of the qualification is brought forward. If the body of electors is prudently and judiciously constituted, the greatest liberty, in my opinion, may and should be given to it. But this liberty is often heightened and guaranteed by legal enactments; for instance, that a community shall choose for its clergyman only a candidate of divinity who has undergone his examination. Now every body looks for the political qualification in *money*.

This method refers, however, only to an abstract number of dollars, francs, or pounds sterling. Dollars, francs, and pounds sterling are, doubtless, weighty matters, but they by no means determine the qualification and the value of a man in a sufficient and decisive manner; nay, they include a false respect for wealth—a superstitious regard for riches. Much money may be an indispensable qualification for a receiver of taxes, for instance; but is it indispensable for a clergyman, an officer, a judge, a burgomaster? Many of *our* towns have, with good reason, rejected rich men, who were willing to undertake a public office without remuneration, and preferred poorer persons, who possessed the necessary qualifications in a higher degree.

Palpable, besides, as money and property appear to be, it is difficult to ascertain their real amount in most of the cases that come under this head. Nothing, for example, is more evident than the possession of a house; but the owner often has debts far exceeding the value of his house. It is still more easy to produce certain valuable papers, or receipts for taxes—to borrow them, &c., of which the French could produce innumerable instances. In particular, the proof from the payment of direct taxes operates like a false bounty. The payment of a large sum in indirect taxes is still less capable of proof, &c. In a word, the doctrine of a qualification by money alone is liable to great objections in theory, and great difficulties in practice. For this reason the proposal of Lord Lyndhurst for

the formation of a fixed monied oligarchy was justly rejected, and altered by the Lower House.

The same happened with respect to the exemption from tolls—the aldermen for life, &c. However, as I said, I will not enter into particulars, but proceed to a general observation. It was, in my opinion, a great error in the zealous Tories in the Upper House, when by their partial, unbending conduct they compelled Sir Robert Peel directly to oppose them: that he did this redounds to his honour, and promoted the truth, and so far I am glad of that mistake. From the moment that nobody in the Lower House represents, or is willing to represent, the principles of the high Tories, their power in the Upper House will vanish; and the mere majority of votes, without a broader foundation, cannot and will not resist in the long run. Sir Robert Peel's position is now more natural; he is free from the views and objects which, as I believe, have been forced upon him. But whether the long list of salutary measures lately given by him, which he would have carried into effect, contains a valuable truth, or a party expression and boast, will sufficiently appear in the next session of parliament. If he conducts himself in the same manner as in the debate on Municipal Reform, even those who are of a different opinion cannot refuse him their esteem.

Like the parliament and the corporations, the church and the clergy will not escape a reform; and he will triumph, who understands how to conciliate and to combine with the greatest skill the benefits of the past with the demands of the

future. This will never be effected if the schools are neglected, and separated from the church—if they are characterized as merely secular objects; it will never succeed till sufficient provision is made from the property of the church, or the state, for both Catholics and Protestants, till all consider themselves as brothers of one family. The objection, that the Irish Catholics should provide for themselves, would have very great weight, if we could drink a copious draught from Lethe, and forget the history of Ireland. But suppose it forgotten, *can* the Irish Catholics raise the necessary sums? The Irish Catholics! Shall I, then, again exhibit the pictures of infinite wretchedness and misery, till the cold-blooded reasoners tremble in all their limbs, and are at length obliged to exclaim, "Lord, have mercy upon us miserable sinners!"

Here, in this place it will appear whether Peel is more than the most dexterous political fencing-master in England, or whether he understands, not only how to make the best funeral oration over the departed, but also victoriously to chaunt the morning hymn, the harbinger of a new era. Now party is opposed to party; one accuses the other; and, in the end, all are better than they are represented, either by themselves or their opponents. If I fancy myself, many centuries hence,—if I, in imagination, set myself the task of writing the History of England, what a different shape does everything then assume—how do the complaints and the discords die away! For must not he be prejudiced and nar-

low-minded who is unable equally to appreciate Pitt and Fox, Burke and Mackintosh? Do not the trophies of Wellington, the splendid ability of Peel, the energy of Russell, triumphing by its simplicity, the clear and well-directed understanding of Spring Rice, the enthusiastic struggle of O'Connell, belong to each other? Do they not, by their reciprocal action, promote what is right? Would not the picture be poorer, the result more confined, if I should take out, condemn, or throw aside the one or the other?

Perhaps this observation may draw upon me the reproach of a want of definite opinions, of indecision and weakness, and a confusion of ideas. Be it so. An Englishman may consider it his right and his duty to be a Whig or a Tory, a Churchman or a Dissenter, and to swear fidelity to one of these standards. My disposition, coinciding with my right and my duty, assigns me a place outside of all these narrow circles; and I deny that this position is less favourable for observation. Does not each of these parties see in those opposed to him only injustice and confusion? Would they not, if they had their own will, destroy and annihilate each other, till nothing was left of England? From my position, on the contrary, I do not see mere vortices of Descartes, but a well-ordered system of suns and planets, with only those interruptions which the free movements of the varied whole naturally and necessarily bring with them. But if these interruptions exceed the natural and necessary measure, real dangers undoubtedly arise; and I have

often enough pointed out in what extreme, eccentric courses they are to be found.

All grounds for hatred or predilection are certainly far from me; and in this respect, at least, my praise and my blame are uninfluenced and impartial. This is by no means meant as a cover for the arrogant and foolish assertion, that I am perfectly wise, and above all error; only I may repel, without presumption, the reproach of conscious error, or premeditated falsehood.

Or do I even here labour under a deception? Every historian ought to be impartial with respect to all ages and nations. Why do I always feel myself, I would say, commensurable with the English and incommensurable with the French? Why, with the former, does everything resolve itself into a simple *facit?* and why, with the latter, does there always remain a fraction, a *caput mortuum*, a dissonance—in a word, something uncomfortable, discordant, unresolved? Is the cause in myself, or in the things? I boldly affirm, the latter; and I should not want for proofs, if this were the place to produce them.

I must, besides, fear the reproach of having spoken too much of politics in my letters to you; but here the whole atmosphere is impregnated with politics: you are obliged to draw them in with the air you breathe. Nor are politics here merely air and wind, as in many other states—but they are embodied in laws; and have accomplished so much of late years, since the peace, that Prussia alone may, in its way, be compared to England.

To be always talking politics without such events is, as I have often observed, a bad and enervating disease; nay, when true political wisdom has predominated, it is an advantage and a sign of health, when people think no more of the constitution, and forget politics. The head and heart are then at liberty to attend to innumerable objects which had hitherto been neglected or purposely set aside. Infinitely attractive and instructive as everything was that I saw and heard in Great Britain, I not unfrequently felt a longing for conversations on the history of former times, on speculative philosophy, the fine arts, music, the drama, and subjects of that nature. If it should be said that this is German pedantry, or love of trifles, I would answer, that the gravity and universality of historical and philosophical study is an antidote to pedantry; and that our conversations upon art, and theatrical reports, on distinguished actors and actresses, are surely not inferior to conversations on the sports of the field, and reports of horse-races and high-bred horses. *Suum cuique;* and these remarks were meant rather defensively than offensively, and properly only to recall to my mind the pleasures of home.

Undoubtedly, England is in very many respects different from Germany, but, in a more elevated and impartial review, the affinities and attractions appear far greater. While Italy still reposes on the laurels of its splendid two-fold existence in antiquity and the middle ages; while Spain, shaking off its compelled inactivity, is now torn to pieces by the fury of internal dissension; while France

can never find permanent happiness, so long as it does not add to courage humility, to dominion self-control, to activity perseverance, and to talents morality,—where is the hope of the world, the guarantee for the future, the safeguard against the irruptions of barbarism? IT IS IN THE PRIMÆVAL SOUND STEM OF GERMANIC DEVELOPMENT, AND ITS TWO MAIN BRANCHES—GERMANY AND GREAT BRITAIN. If these two nations thoroughly comprehend their noble task, if they exert all their energies for its accomplishment, then, even the diseased portions of Europe will recover their health, the manifold harmonies of life will again resound, and the smallest quarter of the globe will, in spite of all defects, still take the lead in the advance of knowledge throughout the world.

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